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ARCHIVES

MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

December, 1945

FRANCIS P. MAGOUN, JR. <i>The Domitian Bilingual of the 'Old-English Annals': Notes on the 'F'-Text</i> . . .	371
ROBERT J. MENNER. <i>Three Fragmentary English Ballades in the Mellon Chansonnier</i>	381
HENRY J. WEBB. <i>The Mathematical and Military Works of Thomas Digges, with an Account of His Life</i> . . .	389
SAMUEL KLIGER. <i>The Unity of 'Gulliver's Travels'</i> . .	401
EDWARD D. SEEBER. <i>Goldsmith's American Tigers</i> . .	417
PHILIP B. DAGHLIAN. <i>Sheridan's Minority Waiters</i> . .	421
KINGSBURY BADGER. <i>Mark Pattison and the Victorian Scholar</i>	423
TOM BURNS HABER. <i>What Fools These Mortals Be! Housman's Poetry and the Lyrics of Shakespeare</i> . . .	449
EDGAR H. HEMMINGHAUS. <i>Mark Twain's German Provenience</i>	459
GEORGE W. UMPHREY. <i>Spanish Ballads in English: Part I, Historical Survey</i>	479
REVIEWS	495
BOOKS RECEIVED	511

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Edited by

EDWARD GODFREY COX

Managing Editor

DUDLEY D. GRIFFITH

CURTIS C. D. VAIL

GEORGE W. UMPIREY

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ARTICLES

- Francis P. Magoun, Jr. The Domitian Bilingual of the *Old-English Annals*: Notes on the *F*-Text 371
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- Henry J. Webb. The Mathematical and Military Works of Thomas Digges, with an Account of His Life 389
- Samuel Kliger. The Unity of *Gulliver's Travels* 401
- Edward D. Seeber. Goldsmith's American Tigers 417
- Philip B. Daghlion. Sheridan's Minority Waiters 421
- Kingsbury Badger. Mark Pattison and the Victorian Scholar 423
- Tom Burns Haber. What Fools These Mortals Be! Housman's Poetry and the Lyrics of Shakespeare 449
- Edgar H. Hemminghaus. Mark Twain's German Provenience 459
- George W. Umphrey. Spanish Ballads in English: Part I, Historical Survey 479

REVIEWS

- Mary McDonald Long. The English Strong Verb from Chaucer to Caxton [*Herbert Meritt*] 495
- Arthur H. R. Fairchild. Shakespeare and the Tragic Theme [*D. T. Starnes*] 496
- H. T. Swedenberg, Jr. The Theory of the Epic in England, 1650-1800 [*Hoyt Trowbridge*] 498
- Carl L. Johnson. Professor Longfellow of Harvard [*Carl J. Weber*] 500

Max Schoen (editor). The Enjoyment of the Arts [<i>Walter Isaacs</i>]	502
Mary M. Colum. From These Roots: The Ideas That Have Made Modern Literature [<i>Edwin Berry Burgum</i>] . . .	503
Alrik Gustafson (editor). Scandinavian Plays of the Twentieth Century [<i>Adolph B. Benson</i>]	505
Karl Siegfried Weimar. The Concept of Love in the Works of Hermann Stehr [<i>John C. Blankenagel</i>]	507
F. J. Schmitz. The Problem of Individualism and the Crises in the Lives of Lessing and Hamann [<i>Anthony Scenna</i>] .	509
Emile Cailliet. Pascal: Genius in the Light of Scripture [<i>Clotilde Wilson</i>]	510
Books Received	511

THE DOMITIAN BILINGUAL OF THE OLD-ENGLISH ANNALS: NOTES ON THE F-TEXT

By FRANCIS P. MAGOUN, JR.

Though something of a stepchild among the versions of the *Old-English Annals* the text preserved in British Museum MS. *Cotton Domitian A. VIII*, fols. 29 (30)^r – 69 (70)^v,¹ *F* of the editors,² is of very considerable interest and is worthy of far more attention in gross and in detail than it has received. It enjoys the special distinction of surviving in combination with a more or less parallel Latin text which may be designated *Annales Domitiani Latini* (*ADL*);³ the latter, taken together with the Old English text *F*, forms what one might call the Domitian Bilingual.⁴ This bilingual is unique and bears, for example, no comparison with *E* with its scattered Latin entries,⁵ or with the little set of annals, *Annales Anglosaxonici Breves*,⁶ *I* of the editors,⁷ which starts out in English and ends in Latin. From many points of view further study of the Domitian Bilingual is likely to prove rewarding. Fernquist has performed a welcome service in publishing a collation of the text of *F* against Thorpe and in analyzing most carefully the language. He shows conclusively that the language

¹ The folio numbers in round brackets refer to numbers written in relatively recently in the lower corners of most of the folios and are those occasionally used by Charles Plummer. The unenclosed numbers are those cited here and by Carl-Henric Fernquist, and are of much earlier date; they are written in the upper corners of the recto pages. The MS is described by Plummer, *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, II (Oxford, 1899), xxxvi-vii; by Fernquist, "Study on the Old English Version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in Cott. Domitian A. VIII," *Studier i modern Språkvetenskap*, XIII (Uppsala, 1937), 41-43.

² Benjamin Thorpe, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle according to Several Original Authorities*, I (London, 1861), text, pp. 3 ff., on the odd pages, right-hand column, rarely at the foot of the page; for the designation *F*, see *ibid.*, I, xix. Small excerpts are occasionally included by Plummer, *op. cit.*, vol. I; some considerable analysis of the organization and relations of the text is given in vol. II, especially pp. xxxviii-xlv, lxiii-lxvi (note stemmas), cxxii, cxxx-cxxxii, cxxxv. There is an excellent special study of the readings and language of *F* by Fernquist, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-103.

³ This Latin text remains inedited, a fact which nearly sixty-five years ago struck the distinguished German historian Reinhold Pauli as most strange (see *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, XIII, 94); in this same volume (pp. 103-15) Pauli includes occasional excerpts from *ADL*, also from *F*, where these relate to Frankish affairs; similarly Plummer in his edition (vol. I, *passim*). See further my paper, "The Domitian Bilingual of the *Old-English Annals*: The Latin Preface," *Speculum*, XX (1945), 65-72.

⁴ No doubt a Canterbury book; see Plummer and Fernquist.

⁵ See Plummer, *op. cit.*, II, xlv-xlvii, l-llii.

⁶ Felix Liebermann, ed., *Ungedruckte anglonormannische Geschichtsquellen* (Strassburg i. El., 1879), pp. 3-8.

⁷ Plummer, *op. cit.*, I, xiii, 243-45; II, xxvii, § 29.

is essentially late West Saxon with a strong Kentish coloring, reflecting, no doubt, the dialect of the scribe, himself probably an Anglo-Norman. The text was written between 1100 and 1150, probably in the middle of this period.*

The miscellaneous notes that follow in part offer some corrections and additions to Fernquist's collations, and in part are devoted to certain lexical peculiarities not, so far as I know, hitherto dealt with.

I. CORRIGENDA TO THE PUBLISHED TEXT OF F

The not infrequent occurrence of rubbed places, erasures, interlineations, and marginal additions conspire to make the manuscript of the Domitian Bilingual at times exceedingly difficult to read. Hence, it is not surprising that Fernquist should here and there (*op. cit.*, pp. 43-52, § 3) have gone astray and in some places have overlooked errors in Thorpe's readings. Thus, even with the use of rotographs, it has been possible to make a certain small number of corrections in Fernquist's list and to add several items that escaped his attention. I have followed Fernquist's mode of reference, namely, that of giving the annal year and the line in Thorpe, reckoned from the beginning of the annal in question. In the case of occasional illustrative quotations from the inedited *ADL*, folio and side are given. Letters, words, and phrases that are inserted or interlined are set off by single quotation marks, imitative of Plummer's use of accent marks; in similar instances Thorpe uses square brackets.

84, 2-3. MS as in Thorpe: *þa boc ða man*.

694, 18. MS should be edited thus: *stingan hine a na'n're cirican, na a nan ðara ðingan* "to lay claim to no church, not even to any of those things."

760, 1-3. MS *Her Æðelberht 'Wihtredes sunu cinges' Cantwara cing forðferde*. Cf. *ADL* (fol. 47^v): *Æðelberhtus 'filius Wihtredi regis' Cantig obit*.

765, 2. MS *Nordhūb* = *Nordhumber*.

840, 1. MS *Æðewulf*, with *ew* mostly erased, to read *Æðulf*.

851, 9. MS *Æðewulf*, with *elw* mostly erased, to read *Æðulf*.

856, 6. MS *Aðewulf*, with *ew* erased as in 840, to read *Aðulf*.

878, 24. MS surely *-ede*.

892, 21. MS *ðon / ne* (i.e., *ðonne* for *ðone*).

949, 2. MS as in Thorpe: *cwiran*, with clearly written *wynn*; *ADL* (fol. 57^r): *cuiran*.

949, 3. MS *Norð/hūblānd* = *Norðhumberland*; cf. 765 above.

995, 17. MS clearly *sprytanne*.

995, 52 (charter, p. 245, l. 5). MS: *cumen* (?).

1004, 3. MS *geredde* with a suprascript over middle *e*; though this *e* is not marked for deletion, it is almost certain that the scribe wanted to read *geradde*, not *ger'e'adde*, since the *a* is written in full size and directly over the *e*.

* See especially *op. cit.*, p. 53, § 4, and pp. 99-102, §§ 112-13.

- 1006, 15. In MS *gerowre* the suprascript *a* between the first *e* and *r* is written small as though for insertion; the scribe almost surely wanted *gearowre*.
 1006, 22. MS *þ* = *þat*.
 1012, 15. MS *Pascę*, whence Thorpe's *Pasca*.
 1012, 21. MS *biscopas*, as if for *beriscopas*!
 1022, 2. MS *-fe'a'ngen*, i.e., *-fengen* with a small *a* suprascript between final *e* and *n*, but the *a* is probably intended as a correction rather than as an insertion, i.e., to read *-fangen* (ppl.). Fernquist misinterprets the small suprascript *a* as a circumflex or an apex.
 1031, 2. MS *Romę*, whence Thorpe's *Romæ*.
 1048, 31. MS *scip*[with \sim through lower part of *p*]as = *sciperas*, as Thorpe; *sciperas* of 1. 26 is, it may be noted, written out in the MS in full.

The list that follows is made up of errors in Thorpe's text overlooked by Fernquist.

- 448, 11. MS *langon*.
 455, 5. MS *iesc*; cf. 473, below.
 456, 1. MS *ccclv*.
 473, 1. MS *lasc*; cf. 455, above.
 694, 21 (charter, p. 67, 1. 2). MS *æne*, with something like an *o* under the first *n*, forming a *g*-like letter.
 731, 3. MS *was*.
 761, 3. MS *dt*.
 793, 4. MS *dre'h'tan*, corrected from *drettan* (?).
 856, 26. MS *'sunu'*.
 903, 2. MS *Iudoces*, i.e., St. Joce (Josse), Breton saint; *ADL* (fol. 56r): *adventus S. Iudoci*.
 959, 4. MS *Wigorceastre*.
 964, 11. MS *Cyneuard*. Thorpe and Fernquist have misread *u* as *w* (wynn) owing to the upstroke of the *ð* in *Æðelgarum* in *ADL* immediately below in the MS; *ADL* (fol. 57r) reads *Cyneuardum*.
 965, 3. MS *to gebeddan* "as consort"; first *d* slightly rubbed.
 980, 5. MS *Eadward'*, for *Eadwardes*.
 995, 1-2. MS *Her was ateowod 'þæt ys se fexode' cometa se steorra*; the insertion, clearly indicated, is obviously made in the wrong place. *ADL* (fol. 59r) has only: [*Hic*] *apparuit cometa stella*.
 996, 2. MS *Londonberi*.
 997, 1. MS *Alfric*.
 1000, 4. MS *rice*.
 1006, 28. MS (fol. 61r, middle) erased but can be made out with the help of E 1006, p. 259: *Ða gerædde se cing and his witan þæt man nyde moste þam [here (om. as in E)] gaval gildan*.
 1025, 7. MS *Sweo'n'*, corrected from *Sweoðe*, in turn arising from MS *Sweoðoðe* (i.e., *Sweo-þeoðe*), earlier in the same line (fol. 66r).

1041, 6. MS *he*, altered to *se*, resulting in what looks like *sie* or, as it is, *he* with a peculiar *h*.

1050 (*ad fin.*), 67. MS *geblesod*.

1051, 26. MS 7 *geræddan*. Apropos of the 7-abbreviation omitted in Thorpe it may be noted that somewhere in the preceding clause, though probably not on the immediately preceding erasure, a verb, probably *fērde* or *fērdon*, has been left out; cf. *E* in Thorpe, p. 321, l. 4.

1051, 40. MS the erased word seems to be *Frencisce* or *-cisca*, not the expected *-ciscan*.

In a text as difficult to read as *F* often is,⁹ almost any word or reading that is cleared up is something to the good. Nevertheless, much remains to be done and probably can be done by more practiced eyes and with the aid of ultra-violet or infra-red light. Furthermore, for *F* any future editor will no doubt act on Plummer's hint (II, cxxxi, n. 1) and examine the collations and extracts made by Francis Junius and available in *Bodl. Junius 10*. In several instances it is, moreover, likely that many words were really legible to Thorpe that no longer are so.

II. LEXICAL NOTES

The following section is devoted to comments on eight words in *F* which either have not been previously noted and have not found their way into the dictionaries, or about which, for one reason or another, it seems possible to say something new. These words are arranged alphabetically, with references as in § I, above.

(1) *Augustus-món(a)ð*, m. "August" (1013, 5).

As in the case of other old Germanic dialects, the month-names based on the Julian Calendar drove out of English the older native names only slowly.¹⁰ Where the former are used before the Norman Conquest or shortly after, these are generally given in Latin. The few that are anglicized appear in the genitive combined with OE *món(a)þ*, m. "month" as *on (in) Augustes, Junies, Martes mónðe* (see *NED* and *B.-T.*, s.v.; also *NED* under the modern month-names), corresponding to Lat. *Augustus mensis*; the combination with OE *mónað* may be imitative of Latin or may continue an old native system represented, e.g., in OE *Sólmónað*, OHG (Charlemagne) *Wintarmânôth*, Oicel. *Gaukmánuðr*. In *F* and *ADL* dates by days of the month abound, but these are invariably given according to the Roman Calendar and with conventional Latin abbreviations. In *F*, however, a hybrid combination occurs that is not elsewhere recorded, namely, the Latin month-name plus OE *mónað*: *And on þan ylcan géare tóforan*

⁹ Particularly such passages as occur on fols. 33^v, 34^r, 53^r (long marginal insertion), the inserted fols. 59, 60^r, 66^r, and 69^v.

¹⁰ For summarizing discussion and lists see Joh. Hoops, ed., *Reallexikon d. germanischen Altertumskunde* under arts. "Monate" and "Zeitmessung."

Augustus-mónað cóm Swægen . . . ("And in that same year before August Sveinn [tjúguskegg] came . . ."). The corresponding passage in *ADL* (fol. 63^v), runs: *Eodem anno ante Augustus mensem venit Svanus* . . . ; *C, D*, and *E* here read: *tóforan þam mómðe Augustus*, with an appositional construction, not with a compound as in *F*; the difference is not great, but it is real. The type *Augustus-m.*, also *Agustes m.* (cited above), reminds one, of course, of the Modern Icelandic pattern *Agústmánuður*.

(2) *eal þæt*, conj. "until" (1011, 30; 1013, 39).

Eal þæt, conj., "until" in the temporal sense of "up to the time that" (cf. *NED*, "till," B, 1; "until," B, a), elsewhere unrecorded, occurs twice in *F*. In the first instance we have: *And hī hæfdan ðone arcebiſcop mid heom, eal þæt hī hine gemartirodon* ("And they [the Danes] kept the archbishop [Ælfhēah, of Canterbury] with them until they martyred him"). The corresponding passage in *ADL* (fol. 63^r), is: *Tenuerunt autem archiepiscopum, donec post multas tribulationes occiderunt eum*. The second passage in question runs thus: *And sé cing . . . was þar begeondan, eal ðæt Swegen wearð deað* ("And the king [Æðelred] was there overseas [with Richard, duke of Normandy] until Sveinn [tjúguskegg] died"). *ADL* (fol. 64^r), substitutes a noun construction with the prep. *ūsque ad*: *Ipse etiam rex . . . mansit cum Ricardo usque ad obitum Suani*. There can be no doubt, then, as to the meaning of *eal þæt*. The simple conj. *þæt* is, to be sure, used in Old English in the sense "so long, so far that,"¹¹ thus approaching certain uses of English "till, until";¹² e.g., *hé rād, þæt he was at Ceastre* ("he rode until he was at Worcester" [lit. so that, so long, so far that]),¹³ or, to take an example from the older poetry (*Beowulf*, ll. 358-59): *éode ellenróf, þæt hé for eazlum gestóð Deniga fréan* ("the very bold man went until he took up a position in front of the lord of the Danes"). These clauses are, however, actually result clauses, where the use and feeling of *þæt* is quite different from the example cited above from *F*, with *eal þæt* equivalent to *oð þæt*. The distinction between *oð (eal) þæt* and *þæt* in the senses discussed comes out rather nicely in *Beowulf*, ll. 217-21: *Gewát . . . flota . . . oð ðæt . . . wundenstefna gewaden hæfde, þæt ðá liðende land gesáwon* ("the vessel . . . went . . . until [up to the time that] . . . the curved prow had proceeded [so far] that [i.e., until] the voyagers sighted land"). The apparently late *eal þæt* may well be a spontaneous, native affair, yet it is hard not to think of the ON prep. *allt at* "all the way up to, until" (Lat. *ūsque ad*) as perhaps exerting an influence, e.g., *Brynjólfr gengr allt at honum* ("B. walks

¹¹ See Toller, *Supplement*, under *þæt*, conj., III; cf. *tó þæs þe*, conj.

¹² See *NED*, "till," 1, e, and "until," B, e.

¹³ From B.-T., under *þæt*, conj., III.

right up to him").¹⁴ If historically independent of one another, English and Icelandic both show, at any rate, a development along rather similar lines.

(3) *tó healdes* "as ruler" (1036, 7).

Under the year 1036, *F* (also *E* 1036, 10) tells us: *and ealle ðá þegenas . . . gecuron Harold tó healdes ealles Englelandes* ("and all the thegns . . . elected Harold [Haraldr Knútsson] as ruler of all England"); the corresponding passage in *ADL* (fol. 66^r) reads: *elegerentur Haroldum . . . ad gubernandam Angliam*. In view of the sense of the passage and especially in the light of the Latin *ad gubernandam Angliam* the meaning of *heald*, m., is almost certainly "ruler" rather than "protection, rule" of B.-T.; *céosan tó healde(s)* is, thus, parallel to *céosan tó biscope*, *cyninge* "to elect as bishop, king," *heald* here having no doubt the agent meaning assigned to *geheald* (B.-T., s. v., II). Quite apart from the matter of meaning, the syntax of *MS tó healdes*, i.e., *tó* with the genitive, should be noted, I think, as a genuine construction, despite the fact that Plummer in his Glossary (I, 358, col. 1, *ad fin.*) emends to *tó healde* (dat.), obviously on the assumption that *MS -es* is an error arising from scribal assimilation to the following *ealles Englelandes*. Against Plummer's treatment of the case is the fact that the phrase *tó healdes* occurs also in *E*, a text, directly at least, independent of *F*; if the *-es* is an error this must go some way back in the stemma, at least to Plummer's ϵ (II, lxiii, lxvi). Rather than assume such an error one may not unreasonably think of a genuine syntactical use of *tó* with the genitive, of which there are several instances of this relatively rare use in Alfredian prose, especially in expressions of time, e.g., *tó nónes* (Lat. *ad nonam*), *tó éfenes* (Lat. *ad vesperam*), and so forth.¹⁵ The present case may be nothing more than an extension of this. However, in view of the late date another possibility is to be considered, namely, that of Scandinavian influence, specifically of ON *tíð* with the genitive to indicate what something should be or should become, e.g., *var þá Geirrþófr tíð konungs tekinn*; *Vilhjálmr lét sik tíð konungs taka*; *Guðmundr var kjörinn tíð biskups*.¹⁶ The normal Old English construction would, of course, be *tó* with the dative; *þá wearð Godmund gecuron tó biscope*. If the present idiom is not Scandinavian, one may perhaps at least think that Scandinavian usage may have fortified or modified the native syntax.

¹⁴ See Cleasby-Vigfússon, under *allr*, V (*ad init.*); also cf. Sigfús Blöndal, *Íslensk-dönsk orðabók* (Reykjavík, 1920-1924), under *allur*, 3, a.

¹⁵ See J. E. Wülfing, *Die Syntax in d. Werken Alfreds d. Grossen*, II (Bonn / Rh., 1901), 594-95, §§ 952-54 ("*to* mit d. Genitiv").

¹⁶ For a statement with good illustrations from the older language see Gustav Neckel, *Edda*, II (Heidelberg, 1927), 171, col. 2, "*tíð*," 2, b; cf. also Cleasby-Vigfússon, under *tíð*, A, II.

- (4) *on his lóh* "in his (official) position" (*passim*).

lôh, n. (?), m. (?), "place, official position, office," is a very rare word in Old English, occurring only in *F* and in the set phrase *on his lóh*; it corresponds to OFris. *lôch*, *lôg*, n., "place, assembly," OHG *luog*, n., MHG *luoc*, m., "cave, lair, den (of a wild animal?)" and perhaps (?) to ON *lôg*, n., "a wasting, a using up." The word is also recorded for Middle English (*NED*, "logh") as *lo(o)g*, with the same meaning as in Old English. Especially interesting about the word is its apparently limited geographical distribution; it seems to be specifically Kentish. Found in Old English only in *F*, a Canterbury document, it occurs there six times in as many different annals: 693, 8-9; 724, 4; 779, 4; 803, 3-4; 931, 4; 984, 3. Were there any doubt as to the meaning, this is settled by *ADL* in which the first instance is translated by *in cuius loco*, the five following by *in loco eius*. The annals for 931 and 984 are unique to *F*, but in the first three *D* and *E*, with equivalent entries, read *on his steall*, and so in *E* 803 (not in *D*); in passing it may be noted that *steall*, m., though a common enough word, is in this phrase and with the meaning "official position" not common (cf. B.-T., s. v., IV, where the full meaning is not brought out; cf., however, *Supplement* under *stede*, m., II, c.). *Stede*, m., is similarly used in Old English, and all three, *lôh*, *steall*, and *stede*, are used as Lat. *locus*, common in the sense of "rank, office, position" (cf. *NED* under "stead," sb., 11). The Middle English examples are likewise restricted to Kent and to the poems of William of Shoreham (Kent), ca. 1320; see *NED*, "logh," and Bradley-Stratmann under "lôg." In view of the lateness of *F* is it not perhaps in place to ask whether *lôh* may not be a loan-word from Frisian or Low German into Kentish?

- (5) *overfæste*, adv., "too closely, strictly" (1042, 11).

The adverb *oferfæste* "too closely, strictly" is not recorded in the dictionaries; it occurs in *F*: *for þam heo hit hēold overfæste wið hine* ("because she [Ælfgyfu-Ymma] behaved too strictly toward him [Edward the Confessor]") or ("had been too strict with him"). *ADL* (fol. 67^r) reads: *quia nimis tenaciter ea contra illum tenuit*. The emotions and reactions in question are not new. In the corresponding passage *C* has *fæste*, *E* to *feste*, *D* *swiðe hearð*. *Ɔferfæst*, adj., glossing Lat. *transfixus*, is a different matter.

- (6) *ungerise[n]dlíce* (?), adv., "basely, treacherously" (1015, 6).

In addition to the familiar adj. *ungerisenlic* (also *-lice*, adv.) "unsuitable," there is recorded in Old English one example (B.-T. and cf. *Supplement*) of the adj. *ungerisende*, based on the pres. part. of *gerisan* "to befit, suit." In a passage in annal 1015, where *C* and *D* have *ungerisenlice* and *E* has *ungerisnellice* (by scribal metathesis), *F*

reads *ungerisedlice*. Now, *-rised-* may, to be sure, be a blunder for *-risen-*, but a confusion of *d* for *n* is paleographically unlikely, and in view of the recorded adj. *unrisende* it would seem more natural to think of the omission of a macron in the exemplar of *F* or of a failure on the part of the scribe of *F* to indicate the suspension of an *n*. Hence, it may not be venturesome to suggest that we have here a hitherto unrecorded adv. *ungerisendlice*, corresponding to the recorded adj. *ungerisende*.

(7) *Wéalland*, *n.*, "France" (1040, 6-7).

In the annal for 1040, *F*, also *E*, reports the arrival in England of Edward the Confessor. The text reads: *And on ðysum ylcan gære côm Eadward, Æðelrêdes sunu, hî'er to lande of Wéallande* ("And in this same year Edward, son of Ethelred, arrived here in England from France"); *ADL* (fol. 66^v) omits the equivalent of *of Wéallande*: *Et hoc anno Eadwardus, filius Æðelredi regis, venit in Angliam*; *C* (1041) reads: *fram begeondan sâ* "from across the Channel."¹⁷ *Wéalland*, standing for *Wealh-land* "Celtic territory, foreign land," is perhaps, though by no means certainly, used in the most general sense of the word, namely, "foreign land," in the Old English poem *Genesis A*, l. 2707.¹⁸ In the *Old English Annals* (*E* and *F*), however, it is more than doubtful if *wéalland* in the phrase *of Wéalland* is used as a common noun in the sense "from abroad" or the like; accordingly, *B.-T.*, *s. v.*, is in a sense right in defining the word here as "Normandy," for it was from Normandy that Hôrðaknútr called Edward the Confessor back to England.¹⁹ Yet the rendering "Normandy," despite the Old Norse quotation in *B.-T.*, *í Vallandi er siðan var kallat Normandi*, is not quite right, for OE *Wéalland* is here certainly adapted from ON *Valland*, which surely means just "France," of which Normandy might, to be sure, be viewed as a part; cf. such a statement as *Normandi á Vallandi* "Normandy in France" or *tí Ruðu* (OE *Rôðem*) *í Vallandi* "to Rouen (Gaul *Rotomagus*) in France (specifically in Normandy, of course)."²⁰ There can be no doubt that OE *Wéalland* is here adapted from ON *Valland* and means in so many words "France."

(8) *mid ánre axe yre* (1012, 18); *ADL*: *accepto securi* (fol. 63^v).

In the account of the murder of Archbishop Ælfhêah in *C*, *D*, *E*, and *F* we are told that, after being pelted by the Danes with the bones

¹⁷ On OE *sâ* "the Channel" see *Speculum*, XVI (1941), 506.

¹⁸ See G. P. Krapp, ed., *The Junius Manuscript* (New York, 1931), p. 194, note *ad loc.*

¹⁹ E. A. Freeman, *The History of the Norman Conquest of England*, rev. ed. (Oxford, 1873), I, 349, and n. 5.

²⁰ For these and numerous other quotations to the same effect see Esther M. Metzenthin, *Die Länder- u. Völkernamen im altisländischen* (i.e., *altnordischen*) *Schriftum* (Bryn Mawr, 1941), p. 114, col. 2.

and skulls of animals,²¹ he was finally dispatched by a blow—*mid ánre æxe yre* (*D: ere*). *Yre* (*eʃ*), *er* (*eʃ*), is usually interpreted as the "head, butt (of an axe)"; so Toller, *Supplement*, s. v., *ír* (*e*), Clark-Hall, s. v., *ýr*, II; the sense is good if the word actually means "head, butt of an axe." The suggested etymologies hint at an association with, or derivation from, *éar*, n., "ear," and compare German *Oehr* (cf. rather ON and Icel. *eyra*, n., in the sense of "handle"). In his Old English etymological dictionary Ferdinand Holthausen proposes no etymology and even queries the meaning "Rücken der Axt"; Plummer in his Glossary (I, 303, col. 1, under the compound *æxe-ýr*, f.) translates the word "axe-iron, axe-head," but it is unlikely that *yre* (*ere*) is etymologically connected with OE *ísen*, *íren*, n., "iron" (see *NED*, s. v. "iron" for forms and spellings). The spelling *ere* of *D* vs. *yre* of the other texts suggests a South-Easternism (Kentish *e*); if this is the explanation of the *D*-form, then the *y*-forms are historically correct. Incidentally, the syntax of *mid ánre æxe yre* strongly suggests that a part of an axe rather than a kind of axe is meant.²² I suspect that Dickins was getting on to the right track when many years ago he considered, at least in passing, the possibility of some connection with *ýr*, the Old English rune-name of quite uncertain meaning.²³ In the Icelandic rune poem one of the meanings of *ýr*, given in stanza 16, is *brotgjarnt járn* "brittle iron," which thus brings the word into some close connection with *kald-ýrr*, *-órr*, m., "iron," used for weapons and swords.²⁴ Whatever may be the history and basic meaning of this *ýr* (*r*), it seems probable that there was a Scandinavian word *ýr* (*r*) meaning "iron, metal" and different from *ýr* "yew tree, archer's bow," OE *īw*, *ēoh*. The Scandinavian word is, I think, quite likely what we have here—a loan-word used in connection with a highly characteristic viking weapon. Its meaning may have been "iron (head)" or the like, though this can only be a guess. In conclusion it may be noted that the author of *ADL* (fol. 63^v), who

²¹ An old game; cf. a similar treatment with less disastrous results in the case of Höttir in *Hrólfs s. kraka ok kappá hans*, chap. 34 (V. Ásmundarson, ed., *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, I [Reykjavík, 1891], 52).

²² The axe was notoriously a favorite weapon of the vikings; see Cleasby-Vigfússon, s.v. "öx, f."; DuCange, s.v. "securae Danicae"; Hj. Falk, "Altnordische Waffenkunde," pp. 104 ff. ("Die Streitaxt"), in *Videnskapsselskapet Skrifter*, Hist.-Fil. Kl. pt. II, no. 6 (Oslo, 1914); T. D. Kendrick, *A History of the Vikings* (London, 1930), Pl. V, facing p. 34, with a splendid photograph of an eleventh-century Anglo-Danish battle-axe; and H. Shtelig—Hj. Falk, E. V. Gordon, trans., *Scandinavian Archaeology* (Oxford, 1937), pp. 393-96 ("The Battle-Axe").

²³ Bruce Dickins, *Runic and Heroic Poems* (Cambridge, 1915), p. 22, n. 84; see also E. V. K. Dobbie, *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems* (New York, 1942), p. 159, n. 84. To the various suggested meanings add von Friesen's tentatively suggested "smycke?" "ornament," given in *Runorna* ("Nordisk Kultur," vol. V [Stockholm, 1933]), p. 62 (Table, col. 1, No. 27).

²⁴ See Sveinbjörn Egilsson, Finnur Jónsson, ed., *Lexicon Poeticum . . .* (Copenhagen, 1913-1916), p. 331, col. 2; also Falk, *art. cit.*, p. 2 and n. 1.

ordinarily displays a thoroughly competent understanding of Old English, likewise appears to be in some uncertainty here; at any rate he seems to avoid the issue in his paraphrase of the present passage (with considerable alteration in detail): *quo* [i.e., *vino*] *inebriati* [*Dani*] *duxerunt archiepiscopum* (fol. 63^v) *in concilium suum et cum lapidibus et ossibus animalium occiderunt eum. Cum autem prope 'mortuus' esset, unus eorum, accepto securi, inpegit capiti eius et sic sanctus* [*Ælfegus*] *tradidit animam Domino.* OE *æx* often glosses Lat. *secūris*, f. (see B.-T., s. v., *æx*); hence it may be that the translator either knew or felt that *æxe yre* meant the same as *æx*, or else that he did not know what *yre* meant and omitted it deliberately.

Harvard University

THREE FRAGMENTARY ENGLISH BALLADES IN THE MELLON CHANSONNIER

By ROBERT J. MENNER

The beautiful Burgundian *chansonnier* now in the Yale University Library contains the music and words of fifty-seven songs in French, Italian, English, Latin, and Spanish.¹ The manuscript was compiled about 1480² and was written by one scribe throughout.³ The inclusion of three compositions with English texts is of great interest to historians of music; for English texts do not appear elsewhere in Continental *chansonniers*. Walterus Fry is named as the composer of one of these songs—*So ys emprentid in my remembrance*—, and Bukofzer is inclined to attribute the other two compositions with English texts to the same person because of the resemblance of their musical style to *So ys emprentid*.⁴

The three English songs are all ballades, the texts of which are not found elsewhere.⁵ Only the first stanza of each appears, as is customary in such musical manuscripts. Unfortunately, the French scribe who copied these English texts was obviously unfamiliar with English and often sets down combinations of letters which are utterly meaningless. The majority of errors seem to be due to miscopying an English manuscript. Thus *o* is often written for *e*, as in *slepoy* for *slepe y*, *groundoof* for *grounde of*.⁶ The *n*'s and *u*'s, which the French scribe kept distinct in the French songs, are confused, presumably because they frequently were almost identical in the original. Thus the scribe writes *sveregug* for *svereyng*. Similarly, combinations of minims are obviously misplaced, as in *in wom joye* for *in wo in joye*; and *t* and *c* as well as *f* and long *s* are confused, as in *scrise* for *strife*. These easily corrected errors are negligible beside the curious combinations which result in an unintelligible line like: *Fornyn onert and de*

¹ The manuscript is known as the Mellon Chansonnier because it was given to Yale by Mr. Paul Mellon. It is described briefly by Manfred F. Bukofzer in the *Yale University Library Gazette*, XV (October, 1940), 25-28, and in greater detail by the same scholar in "An Unknown Chansonnier of the 15th Century," *Musical Quarterly*, XXVIII (January, 1942), 14-49.

² Bukofzer, in *Musical Quarterly*, XXVIII, 16.

³ Bukofzer, in *Yale University Library Gazette*, XV, 26.

⁴ *Musical Quarterly*, XXVIII, 24. For references to Fry(e) see *ibid.*, XXVIII, 25.

⁵ Carleton Brown and Rossell H. Robbins, *Index of Middle English Verse* (New York: Index Society, 1943), items 138, 2178, 3165. For the ballade in French and English see Helen L. Cohen, *The Ballade* (New York, 1915); and for the method of setting ballades to music, Helen Hewitt, *Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A*, Mediaeval Academy Publication No. 42 (1942) pp. 53-54.

⁶ For these and the following errors, see the texts below.

alve along *siching*. One occasionally suspects that some of the errors are the result, not of misreading the original, but of failing to hear correctly a pronunciation suggested by someone attempting to help the puzzled scribe. Thus *de* in this line just cited might be a mistake for *þe* "thee" and *alve* possibly for *alwey*. But I do not believe that any error can as yet be with certainty attributed to dictation, and it is quite possible that all the errors are simply the result of miscopying. My purpose in presenting these difficult stanzas here is to call them to the attention of scholars familiar with late Middle English lyrics, in the hope that they may be able to suggest enough improvements to provide respectable English texts when the Chansonnier is published.⁷ I shall first print the texts exactly as the scribe wrote them,⁸ and then give a corrected text, placing altered letters in parentheses and added letters in brackets.

So ys emprentid is in the usual Middle English ballade stanza rhyming *ababcdcd*, but because of the scribe's omissions, the rhymes at the end of the second and fourth line do not appear.⁹ The last line is the refrain, which was presumably repeated in the missing stanzas. The scribe wrote the stanza as follows:

Soys emprentid¹⁰ in my remembrañce [61^v]
 your wōmanhede jour yowght
 Jour grodly port your frēly cōtināce
 your prysid byaulte w^t jour
 [] hat y^t lordi¹¹ alle wot tak y towit nesse [62^r]
 þ^t walky slepy or wathing y do
 in wele in wom joye ort heuenesse
 mijn hert ys w^t yow gogo wey y^t ye go

This stanza is fairly intelligible, although lines 2 and 4 are incomplete. I emend it as follows:

- (1) So ys emprentid in my remembrance
- (2) your wommanhede, (y)our yowght . . .
- (3) (y)our g(o)dly port, your frenly continance,
- (4) (y)our prysid byaulte with (y)our . . .
- (5) [T]hat (þ)at lord(e) alle wot tak y to wisesse,
- (6) þat walk y, slep(e) y, or wat [t]hing y do,
- (7) in wele, in wo, (in) joye or(e) heuenesse,
- (8) m(y)n hert ys with yow, go wey (þ)at ye go.

⁷ Professor Leo Schrader of Yale is preparing an edition of the Mellon Chansonnier.

⁸ The ordinary abbreviations that are difficult to reproduce are expanded.

⁹ It should be mentioned that the music of the first two lines of a ballade is repeated with a different ending for the third and fourth lines. Lines 1 and 3 therefore appear one above the other under the first line of music, while 2 and 4 are similarly coupled in the manuscript.

¹⁰ *Soys emprentid* is repeated twice on fol. 62^r for the accompanying tenor and contratenor parts.

¹¹ The space for the illuminated capital T was accidentally left unfilled, but *That y^t lordi alle wot* is repeated on fol. 63^r for the tenor part.

The initial words of a French version of this song appear in the Chansonnier Laborde—*Soyez aprantis*—, but it is not clear as yet whether the French or English version was earlier.¹² The music also appears elsewhere in later manuscripts with a different French text.¹³ Presumably because the initial manuscript words of the Mellon Chansonnier—*Soys emprentid*—are obviously related to the *Soyez aprantis* of the Chansonnier Laborde, Bukofzer calls the ballade “polyglot—but mostly English,” evidently assuming that the *Soys* is imperative singular, “be.” *Soys* would, however, be the only French word in the entire stanza, the others, such as *remembrance* and *byaulte*, having been accepted as English long before. It seems reasonable to suppose that the *Soys*, which the French scribe naturally interpreted in this, as in other cases, as a French word, is nothing but English *So ys*, which makes better rhythm, syntax, and sense.¹⁴

(2 [and 4]) Line 2 seems to lack two stresses and about four syllables, just as the rhyming line (4), immediately below it in the manuscript because of the musical repetition,¹⁵ lacks two stresses and three syllables, including the rhyme-word. Since all the other lines are in fairly regular pentameter, it seems unlikely that the original had shorter lines in 2 and 4. In other words, it is impossible to complete the stanza by supplying a rhyme-word for *yowght* in line 4, because line 2 itself is probably incomplete. That words are omitted is confirmed by the relation of the text to the music: one would expect a continuation of this pair of lines below the third line of musical notation. The word actually ending line 2, *yowght*, I take to be “youth” rather than *þowght* (see *NED* for comparable spellings). The scribe writes both *jour* and *your* for the original *your*. (3) *frely* might stand for *friendly*, but I suspect that the abbreviation for *n* is an error and that the original was the common ME *frely* “goodly,” “lovely” (see *NED*, s.v. *freely*, adj.) (4) See comment on line 2. (5) For the phraseology one may compare Chaucer’s “But God, that ale wot, take I to witnesse” (*Troilus*, 3. 260). One would expect a *that* after *lorde*, as well as before—“the Lord that knows all,” and it would be tempting to transpose *þat* and *lorde* if it were not for the fact that the first *That* probably follows *so* of line 1: “so is imprinted in my memory your womanhood, . . . that I take to witness the Lord (that) knows all that whether I walk or sleep, . . .” (6) The French

¹² This information was given me by my colleague Leo Schrade, who points out to me that the scribe of the Chansonnier Laborde erroneously combined the *cantus* of another song with the two instrumental parts of *Soyez aprantis*.

¹³ Bukofzer, in *Musical Quarterly*, XXVIII, 25.

¹⁴ The complicated problem of the relative chronology will be discussed by Professor Schrade in his edition of the Mellon Chansonnier. If the English version is later, it may be a loose rendering of the original. If the French is later, the meaning of the initial words of this English song may have been misunderstood by the French translator.

¹⁵ See note 9.

scribe, who usually writes *y* for *p*, in line 6 copies a clear *p* in *pat*. (8) *gogo* is probably erroneous dittography, although it could be assumed that the first *go* stands for *gon*, with the mark of abbreviation omitted, in which case the line, rhythmically poorer, would mean "My heart is gone with you, go (whatever) way you go."

The second ballade *Myn hertis lust*, seems to be in the seven-line stanza known in English as rhyme royal, used by Chaucer in his ballade of *Truth* and by other writers of ballades.¹⁶ The French scribe wrote it as follows:

Myn hert is lust¹⁷ sterre of my confort [65^v]
 With is te guide vn te my parfaite liffe
 Cherati y¹⁸ welle of plesance an discort
 Whom y¹⁸ yferne whit atentisse¹⁸
 And sicht for you¹⁹ is my care and crise²⁰ [66^v]
 Off womahede se²⁰ haue²¹ vppenme²² Rouhs
 ficht²³ y yca yeu mene²⁴ veray and trouthe²⁵

An emended version follows:

- (1) Myn hertis lust, sterre of my confort,
- (2) Wi(c)h is te guide vnt(o) my parfaite liffe,
- (3) Cherati, (p)at welle of plesance an discort,
- (4) Whom (p)at y (s)er(u)e whit [herte] atenti(ff)e—
- (5) And sicht for you is my care and s(t)ri(f)e;
- (6) Off womma(n)hede s(o) haue vpp(o)n me rou(t)h(e),
- (7) veray and trouthe.

(2) I leave *te* for *pe*, since *t* for *p* is sometimes found in English after *s*, but I suspect that this is the French scribe's mispronunciation.

(3) *Cherati*, I assume, is charity in the sense of "love": "Love, that spring of delight and discord."

(4) This is a bold reconstruction of the line, which I present for want of a better. The scribe's *yferne* is a perfectly good Middle English word meaning "long ago," "a long time," "formerly," (see *NED*,

¹⁶ Two of the English ballades, 4 and 82, attributed to Charles d'Orléans are in this stanza (Robert Steele, *The English Poems of Charles of Orleans*, E.E.T.S., vol. 215 [1941], pp. 11, 102).

¹⁷ On fol. 66^r the accompanying tenor and contratenor parts have respectively the initial words *Myn hert is lust* and *Myn hert*.

¹⁸ The word is written with two long *s*'s.

¹⁹ On fol. 67^r the accompanying tenor part has the initial words *And sicht for you*.

²⁰ *Crise* and *se* have long *s*'s.

²¹ The *u* of *haue* might be *n*.

²² The *e*'s resemble *c*'s.

²³ The *f* of *ficht* resembles the scribe's *f* rather more than his long *s* or *l*, but it may possibly be intended for *s* or *l*. The scribe's letters in these English texts are apt to be unlike any in the French part of the manuscript, presumably because he is imitating the English script and really does not know what letters he is copying. An upward curl continues the cross-stroke of the *t* in *ficht* and may have been an abbreviation in the original.

²⁴ *Mene* comes at the end of the manuscript line.

²⁵ In *trouthe* the final letter resembles *s* or *r* and has a curve above it rather different from the scribe's abbreviation for *n*.

s.v. *fern*, adj., the last example of *yfern* cited being of ca. 1380); but it seems somewhat archaic for a ballade of this style, and the scribe confused long *s* and *f* and *n* and *u* so often that *y serue* seems a justifiable change. I leave *whit*, which sometimes occurs for *with*, unchanged, and supply *herte*, since a word seems to be needed both for rhythm and sense. The last word in this line, which must rhyme with *life* and *s(t)ri(f)e*, unless a rhyme-word following it has been omitted, I take to be equivalent to Chaucer's *ententif*. *Atentiffe* "attentive," "intent," is a variant of *ententif* in Middle English (see *NED*, *s.v.* *attentive*, *intensive*), and Chaucer rhymes *ententif* with *strife* (*Troilus*, 2. 838). But all this is conjecture.

(5) The word *sicht* means "sighing" (see *NED*, *sb.*²). One would expect is [*alle*] *my care* and *s(t)ri(f)e*. MS *scrise* can only be *strife*, which is actually one of the commonest rhymes for *life* in Middle English.

(6) "So have pity upon me by your womanhood." For the phraseology compare "But and ye helpe wolde of youre womanhede" in a poem attributed to Charles d'Orléans.²⁶ Perhaps *se* should be changed to *lo* "oh," rather than to *so*. *Routh* "pity," and *trouth* "truth," are very common rhymes in Middle English.

(7) The last line is a puzzle, and I can make nothing satisfactory of the first part. The first word may be intended for *sicht*, which appears in line 5. Could the line begin *sicht y y[i] (t) ayen*, "sigh I yet again"? *Veray* might be adjective, adverb, or noun, the last use being rather rare. If it were an adjective, a noun would have to precede. The scribe's *yeu* might be an error for *you* or *þen*. As a desperate remedy I suggest: *sichty(ng) y ca[ll] you m(i)ne veray and trouth(e)*. In this case the poem would have to be Northern or Scottish, since only in these dialects would the *mine* instead of *my* be likely before a consonant.

The third ballade, which is in the usual eight-line stanza, was written by the scribe as follows:

Alas alas²⁷ Alas is my chief song [77^v]
ffor peyne and androo none other can y syng
In stede of rest A sobbe y tale el mong
ffornyn onert and de alve along siching
The groundoof²⁸ wo lfele²⁹ departing [78^v]

²⁶ *The English Poems of Charles of Orleans*, E.E.T.S., vol. 215, p. 112, line 3366.

²⁷ The initial words *Alas Alas* are repeated on fol. 78^r for the accompanying tenor and contratenor parts, and the initial words of line 3, *In stede of Rest*, appear immediately below the tenor *Alas Alas*.

²⁸ The initial words *The groundoof* appear at the bottom of 78^v and the top of 79^r for the accompanying parts. In all the instances the first *u* is more like the scribe's usual *n*.

²⁹ Between *lfele* and *departing* there is a little unattached mark, not used elsewhere by the scribe, somewhat like the abbreviation for *er*, or a wavy line for "filler." For the interpretation of this, see the commentary.

The more long the more bryting the peyn
 With the trew turtill all chaunge for *sveregug*
 Welchome my deth certeynement vne and pleyne.

The music and words of this song were printed by Bukofzer, who gives a modernized version of the stanza with the music, and prints the original spelling afterwards with suggestions for interpretation by several Middle English scholars.³⁰ He suggests that the ballade was influenced both in text and music by an early fifteenth-century song beginning *Alas, departyng is ground of woo*.³¹ It is plain that the phraseology of the ballade stanza is very reminiscent of this earlier song, which I print in the note for the sake of comparison.

An emended version follows:

- (1) Alas, alas, alas is my chief song,
- (2) For peyne and (w)oo none other can y sing.
- (3) In stede of rest a sobbe y tale (a)mong,
- (4) For (m)yn(e) (h)ert and de alve[y] a long sicing.
- (5) The ground(e) of wo I fele—departyng,
- (6) The more long the more b(y)ting the peyn.
- (7) With the trew turtill all chaunge forsvēre(y)n g,
- (8) Welchome my deth—certeyne m(y) tvne and pleyne.

(3) *tale among*, "utter meanwhile" or from "time to time" (see *NED*, s.v. *tale*, v); the scribe's *el* for a tall Middle English *a* is a natural error.

(4) "For mine heart and thee alway a long sighing." This line is much disguised by the scribe. Bukofzer modernizes the text accompanying his transcription of the music as: "For mine own heart and heave a long sighing." This is not impossible; but *heave* seems a little far-fetched for *de alve*, both because *l* is unexplained and because the *ea*-spelling would be unlikely so early.³² I assume that the *alve* is the French scribe's attempt to pronounce *alwey*; just as *de* is his pronunciation of *pe*. The *de* I leave unchanged, since one finds such

³⁰ *Musical Quarterly*, XXVIII, 42-45. Bukofzer's transcription of the scribe's clear letters differs from mine only in the following particulars: he does not record a curve over the *e* of *tale* (at the end of a manuscript line), since it may not be intended as an abbreviation; he prints *de alve* as one word, all the words in this line being rather crowded; he reads *sverug* for my *sveregug*, and *une* for plainly written *vne*.

³¹ *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 45-46. A facsimile of this song may be found in J. F. R. Stainer and C. Stainer, *Early Bodleian Music* (1901), I, xxiv; cf. II, 72. I print my own transcription from the facsimile, differing only in unimportant details from Bukofzer's text.

Alas, departyng is ground of woo,
 odyr songe can y not synge;
 but why part y my lady fro,
 sith loue was caus of oure metyngs?
 þe bitter terys of hire wepyng
 Myne hert hath pryschid so mortaly,
 þat to þe deth hit wol me brynge,
 but yf y see hire hastyly.

³² The suggestion made to Bukofzer that the word is ME *wealwe* or *wealwe* "roll," "turn" [modern *wallow*] seems to me out of the question, if only for the reason that the spelling with *ea* would occur only in very early Middle English.

spellings even in Middle English. The change of the manuscript *ffornyn onert* to *For (m)yn(e) (h)ert* assumes that the scribe's division of words is incorrect, and that his first *n* stands for *m*, his *o* (as frequently) for *e*, and his last *n* for *h*. This seems to me preferable to interpreting *nyn onert* as "mine own heart" for two reasons: first, that *myn hert* actually occurs in the earlier song on which this is modeled,³³ and secondly, that there would otherwise be too many syllables in the line. I should stress the line: "For myne hért and dé alvéy a lóng síching."

(5) The curious little wave between *fele* and *departing*³⁴ is hard to interpret. Bukofzer suggests that it may represent an original abbreviation for *is*, and it should be noted that the earlier song has "Alas, departynge is ground of woo"; but since the final *e* of *fele* might be pronounced, it seems possible that the mark is equivalent to a dash: "The reason for the woe I feel—parting." *Departing* is a noun and usually means "parting" in Middle English.

(6) The scribe's *bryting* is almost certainly an error for *byting* "biting," "keen," "sharp," as Bukofzer modernizes. The original form may have been a rare spelling *beyting*.

(7) The manuscript line, though clearly written, seems to me senseless. The presence of *certeynement vne* in a stanza that has no other French words is in itself suspicious. It is probable that the French scribe wrote these words for an English combination of letters that looked somewhat like them, his *certeynement vne* being partly mis-copying and partly a psychological error. As emended the line would mean: "Welcome my death—this is my certain and plain song," which would fit the opening of the stanza. But it is possible that the *certeyne* goes with the exclamation: "Welchome my deth certeyne"—(I) (e)ntvne and pleyne," i.e., "Welcome my certain death I chant and lament." For *entune* as a verb, see the *NED*.

The reconstructions of lines 4 and 8 of *Alas, alas*, and of line 4 of *Myn hertis lust* must be considered purely tentative. I hope that others will find more satisfactory solutions to these puzzles.

Yale University

³³ See p. 386, and note 31.

³⁴ See note 29.

THE MATHEMATICAL AND MILITARY WORKS OF THOMAS DIGGES, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE

By HENRY J. WEBB

Little is known of the early life of Thomas Digges. He was born in Kent, possibly in 1530, and, according to his own account, spent his "youngest yeres . . . in the *Sciences Liberal*, and especially in searching the most difficult and curious *Demonstrations Mathematicall*. . . ."¹ In this pursuit he was undoubtedly aided by his father, Leonard Digges, a mathematician and architect of some moment, who, though himself a student at Oxford, sent his son to Cambridge in 1546. While at Cambridge, Digges conceived the necessity of converting his theoretical knowledge into "sensible *Practical Conclusions*," and after devoting his "yeares of riper iudgement" to this conversion,² he published in 1571 *A Geometrical Practise, Named Pantometria*.

According to Digges, this book had been written by his father "in his youthe time" and was now being published with the addition of a "Mathematical treatise" for two reasons, both typically Elizabethan. First of all, it would show Sir Nicholas Bacon, to whom the book had been dedicated, that the younger Digges was "not vnmindefull of so many good turnes" that Bacon had "most abundantly" bestowed upon him; secondly, it would serve the patriotic purpose of "storing our natiue tongue with Mathematicall demonstrations, and some such other rare experiments and practicall conclusions, as no forraine Realme hath hitherto beene, I suppose, partaker of."³ It served one other purpose. Since it dealt in part with the method of making a "true Description or exact Platte of an whole *Region*,"⁴ it was undoubtedly instrumental in obtaining for Digges his first important governmental position, that of consultant to the Commissioners of Dover Haven who in the fifteen-eighties were engaged in "the making of a perfect and safe harbour" of this important seaport.⁵

The book, as the title page makes clear, was divided into three parts entitled Longimetra, Planimetra, and Stereometria. The first

¹ *Stratoticos* (1579), Preface, n.p.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Pantometria* (1591), Dedication, n.p. This quotation is from the second edition which contains the same dedication as the first. The title pages of the two editions differ slightly, that of the second containing another reason for its publication: the book would "prepare a way to the vnderstanding of his Treatize of *Martiali Pyrotechnie* and great *Artillerie*, hereafter to be published." Digges, however, never printed this work.

⁴ *Ibid.*, title page.

⁵ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic* (1581-1590), p. 51.

part treated of lines and could be applied by "the ingenious practitioner . . . to Topographie, fortification, conducting of Mines vnder the earth, and shooting of great Ordinance." The second part considered the measurement of "Superficies, Plaine Conuex and Concaue" and might "serue for disposing all maner groundes, Plattes of Cities, Townes, Fortes, Castles, Pallaces or other Edifices." The last part dealt with the measurement of solids and would be of use to the architect who might make it "serue his turne in preordinance and forecasting both of the charges, quantities and proportion of all parcels necessarilie appertayning to any kind of buildings."⁶

Digges, realizing that the study of mathematics was not in Elizabethan times ordinarily considered the pursuit of a gentleman, defended his book by references to ancient authorities. Plato said that "all such as were ignorant of Geometrie" were "vnable or vnmeete to attaine higher secrets or mysteries of Philosophie," and Aristotle used geometry "in the fifth Booke of Ethikes" to explain moral philosophy. This branch of mathematics, Digges pointed out, was also useful in the study of astronomy, music, perspective, cosmography, and navigation; moreover, as the deeds of Alexander, Quintus Fabius Maximus, and Cyrus amply proved, it was the proper subject for "a Gentleman . . . that professeth the warres."⁷ In short, although Ascham and Elyot omitted mention of mathematical sciences in *The Scholemaster* and *The Governour*, Digges endeavored to demonstrate that no useful and patriotic Elizabethan should be without the knowledge of such a science.

A year after the publication of *Pantometria*, Digges tried his hand at statecraft, sitting in parliament for Wallingford. Apparently, however, this brief excursion into politics did not dampen his enthusiasm for mathematics, because in 1579 he published his second work: *An Arithmeticall Militare Treatise, named Stratioticos . . . Long since attēpted by Leonard Digges Gentleman, Augmented, digested, and lately finished, by Thomas Digges, his Sonne*. This book was dedicated to the Earl of Leicester who, since the publication of *Pantometria*, had become the patron of the young mathematician. That this patronage was not merely the idle protection of a powerful name is indicated by Digges's avowal that he was "deepely bounde" to Leicester "as well for my preferment to hir *Maiesties* seruice, as for sundrie other fauoures continuallye powred on me," but unfortunately no information as to just what service Digges was permitted to perform can be gleaned from his writings. Leicester had at one time promised his protégé "the Fame of an honourable enterprise," undoubtedly of a military nature, and the hope of going on an expedition under the leadership of his patron had moved Digges, as

⁶ *Pantometria*, "The Preface to the Reader," n.p.

⁷ *Ibid.*

he says, "to employ my *Mathematicall Muses*, vpon this *Militare Argument*."⁸ Before publishing his labors, he submitted them to Leicester for approval, and then in 1579, his first draft "in some poynts altered, and augmented," he saw his work through the press.⁹

As in his first work, Digges drew upon his knowledge of antiquity to illustrate the value to Elizabethans of a martial treatise. He pointed out that reading ancient history (as well as observing the discipline of modern armies) would clearly show the necessity for military preparedness in a nation desirous of prospering:

And finding not onely by the whole course of *Histories* of all times and Countreys, howe *Kingdomes* haue flourished in all felicitie, whe eas this *Arte* hath bene embraced, and duellie practised, and cōtrarywise, how most happie *Empires* after warlike *Discipline* haue bin corrupted, haue fallen to ruine, and miserable seruitude, but also by experience euen in these dayes scene, what extreame disorders growe in those *Armyes*, where *Militare Lawes*, and *Ordinances*, haue bene neglected: haue thought this matter not vnfit to be remembred in these our flourishing and quiet times.¹⁰

Digges, of course, was not alone in suggesting that years of peace could be used profitably in preparing for war. Earlier, Barnabe Riche in *A right excellent and pleasaunt Dialogue, betwene Mercury and an English Souldier* (1574) and *Allarme To England* (1578) said much the same thing, and this warning was repeated during and after the reign of Elizabeth by such military authors as Geoffrey Gates, Matthew Sutcliffe, Robert Barret, W. Segar, and Thomas Adams.¹¹

Following the lead of Vegetius, whom the author may have read in one of the numerous Latin editions or in the edition of 1572 translated by John Sadler, Digges praised the "Auntient *Romane Discipline* for the Warres, their exquisite order of *Trayning* the *Soldiorie* euen from their infancie, in sundry sorts of hardenesse, Labour and Actiutie: Their inuincible order in *Marching*, *Fighting*, and *Encamping*, together with their diuine Lawes to keepe their *Armies* in obedience," and pointed out that it would be well for Englishmen to revert to the ancient discipline of arms in anticipation of a possible war. Nor would he admit that "the *Romane Orders* for y^e Field" were outmoded; on the contrary, he asserted, they were even "more cōuenient, more seruiceable, and more *Inuincible*

⁸ *Stratoticos*, Dedication, n.p.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ See Riche, *Dialogue* (1574), p. 27, and *Allarme* (1578), pp. 41, 42-47, 56; also Geoffrey Gates, *The Defence of Militarie profession* (1579), Dedication, n.p. and pp. 19, 46-47; Matthew Sutcliffe, *The Practice, Proceedings, and Lawes of armes* (1593), Dedication, n.p. and p. 16; Robert Barret, *The Theorike and Practike of Moderne Warres* (1598), Dedication, n.p.; W. Segar, *Honor Military, and Ciuill* (1602), pp. 1, 145; Thomas Adams, *The Souldiers Honour* (1617), pp. 24-26.

. . . euen in these our dayes, than they were for that age wherein they were vsed and practized."¹²

Only in one point did Digges feel that current methods of fighting were superior to classical methods. He noted that among the "Infinite . . . Formes of imbattelling" used by generals of antiquity—for instance, the Circular, the Triangular, the "Lunula" (i.e., the crescent "wherein the *Turke* especiallie delyteth") and the Square—the Square alone was practical in modern battle. Not only were the other figures difficult to form, but they could not be maintained in marching.¹³ But in all other respects, Digges bowed to the superior skill and judgment of the Romans.

It must be remembered, however, that Digges was basing his remarks, not upon military experience,¹⁴ but upon his readings in ancient history. And, typical of the "book soldier," he apparently scorned those men who contested his point of view merely because "they had bene in a fewe skirmishes, or taken any degree in Fielde."¹⁵ This attitude of mind is noteworthy, particularly in view of what Robert Barret wrote concerning works on the art of war which had appeared in England during his lifetime. In *The Theorike and Practike of Moderne Warres* (1598) was the following passage:

. . . some haue bene penned by learned men, as *Politicians*, *Geometricians*, and *Mathematicians*, which neuer saw any warres; Some by men of small learning, but by their practice and long continuance in warres; Some againe haue bene penned by men both of good learning and long experience in warres: the last of these are to bee best approued, as all men of iudgement must confesse.¹⁶

Clearly Digges, at this point in his career, fell into the first category.

Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that this belief in the superiority of an army trained according to Roman methods was no more limited to Digges than was the belief in a need for military preparedness. Almost every author who, during the Elizabethan era, discussed the training of soldiers advocated a return to the art of war as practiced by the ancients. So general did this advocacy be-

¹² *Stratoticos*, "Preface to the Reader," n.p. Digges paraphrased Barnabe Riche when he contended that a well-disciplined soldier could not be developed in a short time. See *Allarme*, p. 79.

¹³ *Stratoticos*, pp. 55-57. In one other minor point, Digges disagreed with Roman custom. He felt that the amount of camping space allowed by the Romans to cavalry and infantry was too small and referred to his unpublished work on fortifications for "the more ample handling of thys matter," pp. 62-63.

¹⁴ Digges may have had elementary training in the militia, for he speaks of "hauing partlie by experience my selfe seene, what extreame disorders growe, and dishonors are receyued for want of *Militaire Discipline*" (*ibid.*). It is clear, however, from the nature of his preface, that had he experienced actual combat service, he undoubtedly would have mentioned it. The *Calendar of State Papers* does not place him with the army until 1585.

¹⁵ *Stratoticos*, "Preface to the Reader," n.p.

¹⁶ Barret, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

come that Shakespeare satirized it in the person of Fluellen, the ardent follower "of the pristine wars of the Romans."¹⁷

However, such was the nature of the man that, had the opportunity offered itself, it is to be supposed that Digges would have endeavored to prove his theories on the field of battle. When the practicality of his suppositions concerning navigation were called in doubt by mariners, Digges took to the sea and demonstrated that he had been correct and the mariners wrong.

I spent a XV. weekes in continual *Sea* seruices vpon the *Ocean*, where by prooffe I found, and those verie *Masters* themselues could not but confesse, that *Experience* did no lesse plainly discover the *Errours* of their *Rules*, than my *Demonstrations*. Sithens which time, I haue learned no more to be abused with the *Opinions* of men, what *Office*, or Degree soeuer they haue born, or what *Fame* soeuer go of them, if Reason be repugnant to their *Opinions*. . . .¹⁸

Some years later, after his experiences in the Low Countries made it impossible for anyone to attack his theories as the impractical speculations of a book soldier, Digges reiterated his belief in the superiority of Roman training and discipline.

In spite of the fact that much theory and little practice went into the composition of *Stratoticos*, it was an excellent book for the period and still contains valuable material for the student of military history. Like *Pantometria*, it was divided into three sections: Arithmetic, Algebra, and Military Laws, Offices, and Duties; but whereas the first book quite often left to the imagination or ingenuity of officers the application of geometry and trigonometry to warfare, the second book strove to present numerous problems actually dealing with field maneuvers. For instance, the section devoted to algebra presented a method of computing the size of camping grounds necessary to hold various numbers of soldiers, a method of determining the range of artillery, and a method of computing the amounts of pay and victuals due organizations of different strengths. It also illustrated methods by which a Captain of Pioneers might solve engineering problems, such as the number of laborers needed to cast up a trench of a given size within a given time. It is obvious, therefore, that the *Stratoticos* would prove extremely valuable to an Elizabethan army officer.

For three years Digges published nothing, but he was not idle. He probably visited the Low Countries during this period, observing the "sumptuous, riche, and bewtyfull citties," the "great number of Shippes and Maryners," and the profitable "entercorse and trafique" which were the result of so many new and excellent Dutch harbors. Upon his return home, he could not help comparing Flemish prosperity with the "beggerie" to which "Wynchelsey, Rye, Roomney,

¹⁷ *Henry V*, III, i.

¹⁸ *Stratoticos*, "Preface to the Reader," n.p.

Hide, Douer, and manye other pore townes" were reduced as a result of decaying harbors;¹⁹ and when he learned of the interest which the Privy Council was showing in the repair of Dover Haven, he concentrated his attention upon this particular port.

On his own initiative, Digges questioned "the auncient and most skilful maryners and inhabitants of Douer" concerning the "alterations" that had occurred in the harbor during the past forty years. Then he "sounded all the chanells, shelues, and rodes there, and sett them down exactly in platte." Finally, after consulting English and foreign engineers as to the best method of constructing a "perfitt haven," and comparing their opinions with those he had formed after observing "artyficial" havens in the Low Countries, he resolved upon a plan of repair. This he submitted to the queen early in 1582 under the title: *A brieft discourse declaringe how honorable and profitable to youre moste excellēt maiestie, and howe necessary and comodious for your realme, the making of Douer Haven shalbe.*

Digges's arguments must have seemed very persuasive to Elizabeth. Briefly, they were these:

(1) An increase in navigation would prove a source of wealth in time of peace and of strength in time of war.

(2) Such an increase depended upon the creation of safe harbors to protect ships from both storms and enemies.

(3) The cost of creating harbors would be more than offset by the wealth they would attract in the shape of cargoes and by the employment of beggars on the docks and in ships.

(4) Dover, because of its position "upon a Promontorye, next fruntinge a puyssante forreyn kinge, and in the verye straighte passage and entercourse of almost all the Shippinge of Christendom," was the logical harbor to receive first attention in the matter of repairs.

(5) Finally (and probably most important in the eyes of Elizabeth), Dover could be repaired without expense of the queen's treasure, parliament having appropriated certain sums for the job and having expressed a willingness to grant additional monies if necessary.²⁰

Probably because of this tract, his *Pantometria*, and his patronage, Digges was appointed with two others (a certain Mr. Burroughs and Sir William Wynter) to confer with the Commissioners of Dover Haven on the choice of a plan for the repair of Dover Harbor. Digges himself was to be overseer of the works. It is not clear that he remained "overseer" or that he had much authority. It is certain that a year later he and Barrey²¹ were recommended by Sir Thomas Scott "as proper persons to be overseers of the works,"²² a statement which

¹⁹ Thomas Digges, "A brief discourse," *Archaeologia*, XI, 214, 211.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 214-22.

²¹ Mr. Richard Barrey, Lieutenant of Dover Castle.

²² *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic (1581-1590)*, p. 111.

suggests that Digges had either been removed from his office or was in danger of being removed.

But whatever his exact position, Digges evidently worked hard at his job, estimating expenses, examining plans, correcting errors of his predecessors, submitting specifications. A long description of his proceedings at Dover was submitted to the Privy Council in June, 1584. In November, he made his last report, pointing out the services he had rendered by exposing the errors of others.

The next year, after another brief excursion into politics as a representative in parliament of Southampton, Digges finally went on the military expedition which Leicester had promised him sometime before 1579. He was appointed Muster-Master General of all Her Majesty's forces in the Low Countries and accompanied Leicester across the channel.

The position of muster-master in the sixteenth century was one of great trust and required its possessor to be a man of courage and integrity, for an honest muster-master would gain the enmity of every corrupt captain and colonel in the army, and a dishonest one could grow rich in his office. His duties, as explained by William Garrard in *The Arte of Warre* (1591), were

nothing else, but by often reuiewing of the bands, to see how euery Capitaines bande is furnished, noting the defaults from time to time, and the supplies: and therof to make a perfect booke, exhibiting the same at the paye day to the Treasurer, that allowance may be made to the Collonels and Capitaines accordingly. When he first takes the viewe and Muster of any band, he must not only write down the name of the Souldiour and his weapon, but also of what Countrie he is, the townes name where hee was borne and hys fathers name, and what yeeres hee is of: and finally, shall take speciall care to set downe, some speciall marke or cicatrice vpon his face, together with the collour of his haire and beard. To the intent, his Prince bee not charged with paying of dead payes, to such as he hyred but for that day, as many Capitaines vse to fill theyr Purses with vnlawfull gaynes.²²

These were not simple duties, and to them was added one other: that of examining fortifications and making recommendations for their repair. The works at Sluys, Vlissinge, Ostend, Flushing, and other fortified towns received his attention, and his reports to Burghley and Walsingham on their condition were composed with great care. They gave evidence that Digges possessed not only engineering ability, but strategic perspicacity exceptional in an amateur. His description of Ostend, for instance, illustrates the value of a mind trained in science for the comprehension of problems of defense. The city, he wrote, is

strong by situation because by means of sluices the country round can be drowned or drained at pleasure. It can only be approached either from Blankenburg or Newport, along the coast, and on both sides the sandhills come close up to the town, the access being upon strait banks easily fortifiable.

²² William Garrard, *The Arte of Warre* (1591), p. 334.

But the haven mouth on the Nieuport side is so far outside the walls that the enemy at his first approach might cut it off, and works sufficient to guard it could not be made without infinite charge. With small charge however a haven mouth might be cut about the middle of the base town which would be deeper, better and more commodious than the present one, and impossible to be hindered by the enemy.²⁴

He also interested himself in problems of supply and once made the suggestion that a crippling blow might be dealt the enemy by worrying Dunkirk fishermen with well-armed privateers.²⁵

But after 1585, his attention was almost wholly devoted to the musters. He found the soldiers "weak, bad-furnished, ill armed and worse trained . . . most of them (especially the shot) being so unskillful that if carried to the field, they would prove much more dangerous to their own companions than serviceable upon their enemies."²⁶ Discipline was at a minimum. Soldiers were noted more for quarreling among themselves and with the natives than for valiance in the face of the enemy. They were often drunk. They smuggled loose women into their camps and assaulted honest women of the towns and farms. Without leave, they wandered from their companies and returned when it pleased them. They thought nothing of disobeying orders. When drilling, they broke ranks at will, and when on guard duty, deserted their posts on the slightest excuse. Sometimes they enrolled themselves in more than one company in order to obtain multiple pay, and often they gambled away their arms or put them in pawn. They stole provisions from regimental depots and, when lodged in town, from the poor Flemings with whom they stayed. Officers were as undisciplined and as irresponsible as their men, and, by detaining the soldiers' pay, acted more often as the cause of widespread crime than as a hindrance to it. In short, the army which Elizabeth had sent to the Low Countries was probably the most unbridled and disorganized force ever mustered by the English nation. As Muster-Master General, it was partially up to Digges to bring some order into this confusion.

His letters to Burghley and Walsingham were filled with recommendations for the improvement of military discipline, and he prepared two long papers on the subject, possibly with the view of submitting them to Elizabeth, as he had done earlier with his plans for Dover Harbor. For some reason or other, these papers were not used until nine years after Digges's death, when his son published them, with two essays of his own, under the title of *Four Paradoxes* (1604).

To Digges the problem of discipline was really a simple one: choose the men carefully, pay them adequately, and control them by

²⁴ *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign* (1585-1586), p. 213.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 278.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

a rigorously enforced set of rules and regulations based upon those used by the "Antique" Greeks and Romans.

The common soldiers should be chosen from honest burghers, the officers from men "of credit and account in their Countries, Cities, or Townes."²⁷ This was hardly the practice in Elizabethan times. A captain, Digges noticed, often selected as his subordinate officers such Free-booters and Theeves, as (onely to haue the name and priuiledge of a souldier, to escape the paine due by *Martiall* lawe to such vnsouldierlike persons) will serue without pay, or with halfe pay.

Then, euerie of these his officers *Lieutenaunt, Ensigne, Serieants &c.* (being men of that Crewe) will draw in as many also as they can of the same Moulde, to liue on pickorie without pay, and therefore very readie to serue in their loose manner with halfe pay. Of such Rakehels then the Capitaine hauing rayzed an *Ensigne*, passeth his Muster, and is sent to his Garrison, or place of Seruice.²⁸

Both officers and men should be paid well so that it would not be necessary to steal and gamble. The "treuth is," said Digges,

Forgery & Periury are the first lessons such Free-boters learne, and then *Pallardise, Murder, Treachery, and Treason* are their Attendants. . . . And this base beggerly pay the onely ground-plot of all these horrible villanies. . . .

For, if Princes or States will giue such conuenient pay, as men of value, and honesty may sparingly liue on without fraud and robbery, they may boldly execute *Martial* discipline, & purge their Army of these idle Drones, and carowsing picking Caterpillars: And instead of these, they shall (in short time) haue their Ensignes compleat with valiant, honest, sober, loyall souldiers, that shall carefully and painefully in watch and ward execute their *Martiall* duties.²⁹

Digges's views on military discipline were essentially the same as those he had expressed in his *Stratoticos*; that is, he believed that "the Antique Romane and Graecian discipline *Martiall* doth farre exceede in Excellency our Modern. . . . And . . . (vnlesse wee reforme such corruptions as are growne into our Moderne *Milicia*, vtterly repugnant to the Ancient) wee shall in time loose vtterly the renowne and honour of our Nation. . . ."³⁰ He hastened to add, however, that he did not mean "precisely to bind" the English army "to the same very Rules or Lawes" of the ancients, because changing conditions might make it necessary to "mitigate or increase, alter or accommodate" these rules. But it was worth noting that corruption in the French army was attacked by forming camp laws "fauouring altogether of the Antique true *Martiall* Discipline."³¹ To those who argued that man's nature was not so angelic that it could follow such strict laws and ordinances as those promulgated by the great generals

²⁷ *Four Paradoxes*, pp. 45-46.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

of old, Digges gave a very simple answer. If the Greeks and Romans could keep the discipline, so could the English.⁸²

As might be expected, Digges was very strict and exacting in the execution of his office. He earnestly desired to see Elizabeth's army develop into an efficient fighting force, and the watch he kept on the musters was extremely irritating to officers and men who had profited by the lax methods of his predecessors. Her Majesty's government helped rub salt into the wounds which Digges's severity had created. The Privy Council directed that soldiers be paid by the poll "in the presence of the Muster Master or his Deputyes," an act which made it impossible for captains to acquire dead pays and discouraged their habit of keeping skeleton companies.⁸³ Unable to bribe Digges to wink at abuses in the musters, captains resorted to slander and, when this failed to do anything except make Digges miserable, to such threats that the Privy Council ordered Lord Buckhurst to punish anyone who endeavored to intimidate the muster-master.⁸⁴

Officers other than captains had been profiting from the war, and in order to put a stop to the drain on the treasury, the Privy Council made it necessary for all warrants authorizing the disbursement of monies to be signed by Digges. This order made more enemies for the muster-master, who was anything but circumspect in the execution of his instructions,⁸⁵ and such powerful men as Sir John Norris and Lord Buckhurst found occasion to make Digges weary of his office. Ultimately, finding that he was almost friendless (even common soldiers blamed him when an empty treasury made pay day a farce), and that his services went not only unrewarded but unappreciated, he asked leave to return to England. At long last, his request was granted. On March 25, 1588, the office of muster-master was abolished, and Digges was free to take care of his "poor private estate at home" which his absence had "greatly wracked."⁸⁶

Little need be said of the remaining seven years of his life. At least two of them were spent in an apparently futile effort to obtain a thousand pounds of back pay which Sir Thomas Sherley, Treasurer at War in the Low Countries, had maliciously refrained from granting him. Apparently, too, the enemies Digges had made in the Low Countries refused to let bygones be bygones, as three rather

⁸² *Four Paradoxes*, pp. 61-63.

⁸³ *Acts of the Privy Council*, New Series, XIV (1586-1587), 374.

⁸⁴ *Calendar of State Papers*, Foreign (Jan-June, 1587), p. 57.

⁸⁵ Edward Burnham, writing to Walsingham on April 2, 1587, said: "... the muster-master and the auditor . . . run a violent course; I think no more than their instructions do guide them, but it might be done with more moderation. It is a great authority to the muster-master that the treasure cannot be disbursed without his warrant. He was pontifical enough before; this maketh him moreso" (*ibid.*, p. 3).

⁸⁶ *Calendar of State Papers*, Foreign (1586-1587), p. 172.

plaintive letters from Digges to Burghley and Lord Willoughby patently show. In one, dated May 2, 1590, and addressed to Burghley, he said:

I hope God will move you, and by you, Her Majesty's heart, to have compassion of me that truly served her, and thereby heaped on myself the irreconcilable malice of some great lucrous persons, who have since done me wrong, whereof I can have no redress, though the injury is proved; and which has so much impaired my health, that I am as yet not able to wait upon you myself.⁸⁷

In another, sent two months later, he wrote:

The injurious surmises invented by some to make you jealous of the office of musters,—which, by my careful endeavours, was first reduced to such perfection, as neither in the Low Countries nor in this realm was ever established better, or comparable,—and the strange practices use to convey those important records out of the hands of officers who faithfully and skilfully served Her Majesty, to others utterly ignorant, or worse, may prejudice Her Majesty many thousands, and was only wrought by [incompetent] officers [who] thought there was no other way to cover their errors, but by misconveying these important records of musters, to bring that office into like confusion.

By their malicious surmises, my faithful services have been smally acknowledged, and nigh 1,000 [pounds] of my entertainment detained.⁸⁸

Finally, in a note to Willoughby dated the next day (July 25, 1590) in which he explained the confusion in the records, calling them the "maimed abbreviates of Mr. Treasurer's accounts," he concluded:

Whatsoever I see, I will not meddle with more than concerns myself, being now no officer, but happily disburdened of that thankless place, where, for my faithful services, I have got so many enemies, and have been lately threatened by Mr. Treasurer that if I be one of the combiners against him, he will so use the matter, as that although he have as many thousands of Her Majesty's treasure as is supposed, there shall be little found due to me. . . . Pardon me if I refuse to irritate so puissant an enemy as can make debts good or bad at his own pleasure.⁸⁹

His impaired health, however, did not prevent him from getting out a second edition of *Stratiticos* in 1590. This new edition had a slightly different title from the first, being termed a "Warlike Treatise" instead of a "Militare Treatise," and contained the laws and ordinances issued by Leicester in the Low Countries. These laws, standing as they did side by side with those "published and practised among the Spaniards" and those issued by the Prince of Conde, indicated Leicester's indebtedness to the Spanish and French for the discipline which he had established in his army. The year following a second edition of *Pantometria* appeared. The first edition had dealt obliquely with war; this one was given a thoroughly military cast by

⁸⁷ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic* (1580-1625), Addenda, pp. 306-07.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 308-09.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 309.

the addition of numerous "Theorems" and "Diffinitions" pertaining to ordnance.

These two books marked the end of Digges's career as a military author, although he intended to publish two more military works.⁴⁰ In both *Pantometria* and *Stratioticos*, he spoke of his unpublished "Treatize of Martiall Pyrotechnie and great Artillerie" in which he discussed

the weyght, quantitie, and number, of Powder, Shotte, and sundrie sortes of Peeces, to strike anye marke at Randon: the number of Carriages, of Ladles, Rammers, Scourers, Waddes, Tampions, Cartages, Matches, Barrells, or Lastes of Powder &c. Also, the number of Gunners, Assistantes, Pioners, Smythes, Carpenters, and other *Artificers*, to attende on the *Altillerie*, what numbers of Horses and Oxen to drawe them, the wayght of all sortes of Peeces, the charges of them, theyr Wheelles and Carriages. . . .⁴¹

He also mentioned his work on "Fortifications not yet published" in which, among other things, he intended to give a "more ample handling" of pitching camps than that appearing in *Stratioticos*.⁴²

Unfortunately, he died before these works could be presented to the printers, and his manuscripts have been lost or destroyed. His untimely death automatically limited the number of sixteenth-century English books on artillery to three:⁴³ Humphrey Barwick's *A Breefe Discourse* (1594?), William Bourne's *The Arte of shooting in great Ordnance* (1587), and Thomas Smith's *The Art of Gunnery* (1600). There was only one book on fortifications, Paul Ive's *The Practise of Fortification* (1589). Digges's death was, therefore, an incalculable loss to students of military science and the history of ideas, for his training in mathematics and his knowledge of late sixteenth-century scarps, redans, sconces, curtains, ramparts, and so forth, which he obtained in the Low Countries, would have been invaluable in the preparation of a book on forts and defensive works.

In 1592 he published two non-military works, an augmented edition of his father's *Boke named Tectonicon* and the *Perfect description of celestial orbs*. Two years later, still unpaid for his services rendered as Muster-Master General, he petitioned the Privy Council for his money,⁴⁴ but there is no indication that his plea was favorably answered. In August, 1595, he died and was buried in the chancel of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, where a monument erected to his memory accurately described him as a man "of rare knowledge in geometrie, astrologie, and other mathematical sciences."⁴⁵

Illinois Institute of Technology

⁴⁰ Possibly written, but unpublished, were four other works on navigation, nautical architecture, the revolutions of Copernicus, and surveying.

⁴¹ *Stratioticos*, p. 66.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

⁴³ There were, however, scattered comments on artillery in other military books.

⁴⁴ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic* (1591-1594), p. 474.

⁴⁵ Stowe, *Survey of London* (1720), I, 71, 72.

THE UNITY OF *GULLIVER'S TRAVELS*

By SAMUEL KLIGER

It is universally agreed that *Gulliver's Travels* is one of the world's irreplaceable masterpieces. Agreement is lacking, however, as to the means which Swift employed to gain the clarity of purpose, clarity of thought, and clarity of expression which, presumably, are the essential characteristics of the literary masterpiece. Historical explanations of one sort or another have been offered as the key to Swift's purpose and thought, without, however, resulting in a noticeable sharing of agreement. Progress has indeed been made, and recently the historical method of analysis has itself been questioned. Seeking to surmount the limitations in the historical approach, Professor Merrell D. Clubb, in a survey of the reception of *Gulliver's Travels* among critics since its publication, has discovered the historical causes operating to defeat the critics.¹ Thus, Clubb points out that eighteenth-century notions of benevolence, and, in the next century, Victorian prudery, were responsible for the critical misunderstanding of the allegory and for the charge of misanthropy leveled at Swift's head. In the novel's own day, according to Clubb, the benevolists "afflicted . . . with an unctuous and sentimental pride . . . became suddenly conscious of a heavenly vocation to vindicate the race" from Swift's supposedly fiendish attack.² In the nineteenth century, Victorian pruders, as a result of their "rigidly literalistic attitude toward the allegory," failed to appreciate the subtlety of Swift's irony, and accordingly perpetuated the eighteenth-century tradition that Swift was a misanthrope.³ In other words, the limitations in the approach of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century critics arose precisely from the fact that they were able to answer the question whether Swift was a misanthrope only in accordance with the view of human nature they already held. Since each century makes its own assumptions about human nature, the result is that the meaning of the novel never becomes fixed. The true meaning of the novel recedes each time that the critic approaches it in the light of a new *a priori* assumption about human nature. Presumably, the assumptions of the twentieth-century critic, made from the viewpoint of Freudian psychology, let us say, will similarly

¹ Merrell D. Clubb, "The Criticism of Gulliver's 'Voyage to the Houyhnhnms,' 1726-1914," *Stanford Studies in Language and Literature: Fiftieth Anniversary of the Founding of Stanford University*, ed. Hardin Craig (Stanford University Press, 1941), 203-32.

² *Ibid.*, p. 212.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 224-25.

defeat the aim to comprehend what the novel itself has to say about human nature.

It is questionable whether Clubb's own analysis of the novel avoids the errors of the historical-deductive method which he exposes. Clubb's postulate of a period of gloom in Swift's life during which the book was composed purports to deal with the misanthropy in this particular book. Actually, however, his postulate deals with the misanthropy in such a way that it becomes only a particular illustration of a universal, *a priori* truth concerning the relationship between a novel—any novel, that is—and the state of the author's health, finances, love-life, and so forth, during or immediately preceding the period of a novel's composition.⁴ From such historical explanations, in short, we learn more and more about the author but progressively less about the novel itself. The deductive critic discovers only such combinations of universal qualities as he is seeking, but never the particularity of the novel, or poem, or play, itself. The critical attitude towards *Gulliver's Travels* clearly needs to be revised, but there is no gain in casting out an error only to bring it in again under a new guise. The real question is not whether Swift is a misanthrope, but whether Gulliver is a misanthrope; in the latter case, the novel furnishes its own answers to the question. If the novel is self-explanatory, it is pure supererogation to seek explanations from the field of psychiatry.

The method of the literary artist, as Aristotle's *Poetics* has made abundantly clear, is always an inclusive and organic one: a presentation of a whole. From this viewpoint, it becomes clear at once that *Gulliver's Travels* does not merely contain but organizes ideas. Swift's ideas are plotted, as well as made explicit, in the novel. Critical commentary, therefore, instead of being aimed at discovering special combinations between the novel's ideas and such universal, extrinsic ideas as are derivable from psychiatry and sociology, ought to be aimed at a consistent analysis of the novel itself with a view to discovering the implicative relations between ideas raised in different parts of the novel in different ways. The critical account of the novel will, as a result, illuminate those features of relationship and order interrelating the parts in a coherent scheme of action which alone forms our understanding of the novel. A second strong objection to Clubb's hypothesis of an analogical relationship between a period of personal disillusionment in Swift's life and the bitter treatment of mankind in the novel is that the hypothesis, if true, would constrain Clubb to treat *Gulliver's Travels* not as a unique work but as an undifferentiated part of the corpus of works which

⁴ The same assumption has died a hard, lingering death in Shakespearean criticism in explanation of the dramatist's so-called "tragic period"; it is kept alive only in exceptional academic circles. Clubb retains the principle but applies it to *Gulliver*.

Swift wrote (or which he might have written) as he passed through the supposed period of gloom. Furthermore, when any one part of the novel is arbitrarily set off from the remainder as presenting the main critical question, it becomes obvious that the critical commentary is missing the progressive unfolding of the meaning of the novel through the interrelation of all its parts taken together.

The features of relationship and order among the parts of *Gulliver's Travels* stand out boldly. Relationship and order in Swift's allegory are achieved, as this essay purposes to make clear, through balance and contrast. Balance and contrast are the expository devices by means of which Swift expresses his ideas. In this essay, these devices will be dealt with as the internal causes producing the unique effect on the reader of Swift's fictional masterpiece.

I

Structurally (and hence, thematically, if the point of view of this paper is soundly taken) the significance of the balance and contrast in the allegory arises from the fact that Swift first introduces an idea or motif with deliberate casualness in an earlier book; however, when the idea is reintroduced in a later book, Swift's intent is not merely to effect a balance or contrast but always to load the idea upon its recurrence with a heavy freight of satire.

We may begin with balance and contrast in the return motif. Gulliver's return to England from Lilliput necessitates that he make a physical adjustment to English conditions of living. Thus, Gulliver's care in not crushing the tiny Lilliputians as he walked among them has become a habit, and, upon his return, he is still apprehensive lest he crush Englishmen of normal size:

As I was on the road, observing the littleness of the houses, the trees, the cattle, and the people I began to think myself in Lilliput. I was afraid of trampling on every traveller I met, and often called aloud to have them stand out of the way, . . .⁵

Upon his return from Brobdingnag, Gulliver is similarly compelled to make a physical adjustment, as this time he mistakes Englishmen for giants. When the sailors discover Gulliver inside the box in which the Brobdingnagians set him afloat on the sea, Gulliver asks the sailors to "let one of the crew put his finger into the ring, and take the box out of the sea into the ship."⁶ Gulliver had seen, of course, similar feats of physical prowess among the giants, but he soon realizes that he has overestimated the physical strength of his fellow countrymen:

⁵ Book II, Chapter 8, page 154, of the edition of Arthur E. Case (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1941). All references are to this edition.

⁶ II, 8, p. 148.

Some of them upon hearing me talk so wildly thought I was mad; others laughed; for indeed it never came into my head that I was now got among people of my own stature and strength.⁷

Gulliver's association with the giants also induces him unconsciously to bellow at his countrymen since, as he says, "when I spoke in that country, it was like a man talking in the street to another looking out from the top of a steeple."⁸

Gulliver's physical difficulties are, obviously, a part of the account of the marvelous which the reader expects to find in a travel tale. But Swift's allegory runs deeper than mere entertainment. The casual, humorous account of Gulliver's difficulties in making physical adjustments serves the basic satiric theme when the narrative soon reveals that, in reality, Gulliver's difficulty is in making not physical but moral adjustments to Englishmen. After his blissful sojourn among the kindly Houyhnhnms, Gulliver sadly returns to the world of men, and for a year he cannot endure the presence even of his family. It is precisely at this point that the charge of misanthropy is introduced into discussion of the allegory. But a livelier appreciation of the features of relationship and order in the story will make clear the real meaning of the balance and contrast between Gulliver's necessity to make physical adjustments on the one hand, and his necessity to make moral adjustments on the other. The first compulsion placed upon Gulliver is introduced casually, but the second compulsion bears high satirical voltage when the reader learns the extent of human folly which makes it so very difficult for the returning voyager to make readjustment. Swift dallies with fantasy in his casual account of Gulliver's physical difficulties. But in the end, Swift achieves his fundamental satiric purpose not in spite of the fantasy but precisely because he has managed to hold the reader's interest by means of a superb mastery of the craft of fiction.

The balance and contrast in the management of the return motif draws the reader's attention to the fact that Gulliver, in every instance of his return, is reacting excessively in a way which belies his own nature and the situation itself; sooner or later, Gulliver's good sense appraises the situation, and he makes either the physical or the moral adjustment which the situation calls for. Accordingly, his excessive behavior is symbolic of a contrast which Swift is trying to enforce between an impossible and a possible situation, between the ideal and the actual circumstances which govern life. The novel here is furnishing its own answer to the question whether or not Gulliver is a misanthrope. Gulliver has experienced perfection among the wise and kindly horses, but he is no perfectionist when he judges his fellow men. Consequently, he does not rail, as the misanthrope

⁷ II, 8, p. 148.

⁸ II, 8, p. 152.

does, on the imperfections of men. Naturally, Gulliver is destined to experience difficulty in readjusting himself to men. He is simply in the predicament of a traveler who has been away for so long a time and has lived under such totally different conditions that his problem has become simply one of readjustment to his native environment and ordinary circumstances of life. The year's delay upon his return from Houyhnhnm-land in restoring his mental outlook to equilibrium is Swift's way of emphasizing the gravity of the moral situation among men.

Swift, like his great contemporary, Mandeville, appreciated keenly the grave disparity between the strict ethics of orthodox Christianity and the plain facts of human nature as we find it in the world. This is the true meaning of Swift's famous *apologia pro sua vita*: "I tell you after all, that I do not hate mankind: it is vous autres who hate them, because you would have them reasonable animals and are angry for being disappointed." In this passage Swift brings his anti-perfectionism into accord with his pyrrhonism or skepticism of reason (an accord similarly effected by Mandeville, as Professor F. B. Kaye in his magnificent edition of the *Fable of the Bees* has made clear). But even if this *apologia* had never been made or preserved for posterity, from a careful reading of the novel, with proper attention to the return theme and similar devices, we should learn the same. In Brobdingnag, the farmer is greedy for money, the natives are boors, the maids are lewd, the boy is malicious, the queen's table manners are disgusting. All these are true, but Swift insists that they are relatively unimportant inasmuch as the state affairs are conducted by the principle of common sense. Swift's skepticism of reason is reflected in the same context of discussion from the viewpoint of anti-perfectionism when the king scorns Gulliver's pretense to knowledge of political science gained from a reading of books. In short, Swift is proposing a Utopia based on common sense and attainable within the limits imposed by man's occasional lapses into lewdness, greed, boorishness, and so forth. Swift, like Mandeville, gave over perfection to a millennial kingdom; they both insisted that before men are children of light they are children of the world. But both men have been fated to be libeled as a result of a misunderstanding of the brilliance of their paradoxes.

Swift, like Mandeville, was not encouraging men to be greedy and mischievous; nor was he condoning these faults because socially extended they are capable of producing a social good. Swift was rather pointing out the inconsistency in the position of Christian asceticism which defined virtue as a triumph of sheer reason over the passions, a self-conquest. Actually, however, Swift firmly argues, reason itself produces the deadliest of animosities, as in war between nations or civil strife in politics and religion. Men are foolish in

many ways but they are never so foolish, or potentially so dangerous, as in their pride of intellect. This ambivalent judgment on reason is at the heart of Swift's, as well as Mandeville's, paradox. Of the two men, Swift is perhaps more daring in his challenge to orthodoxy, as we shall presently see from his treatment of the "happy beast" in Book IV; Mandeville evidently found satisfaction in a formula which brought his anti-asceticism into an easier accord with his skepticism by pointing to a "rational ambition of doing good," a formula which promises simultaneously self-conquest and social good.⁹

The novel must be regarded as an ordered form. Otherwise we overlook the expository devices of balance and contrast which are peculiar to this novel, and as a result, we fail to appreciate the paradoxical solution which Swift offers to the problem of human folly from his double viewpoint: anti-perfectionism and skepticism of abstract reasoning.¹⁰ What this paper seeks to emphasize is that the novel itself makes clear the double viewpoint through the various balances and contrasts set up in its different parts. Its historical background in the skeptical, anti-rigoristic movement in philosophical discussion of Swift's period does not explain anything about the novel itself; the historical explanation merely prevents the misconception and irrelevant criticism that Swift was a solitary opponent of benevolence in ethics. As such, the historical explanation has some, but a decidedly limited, value.¹¹

Through a series of connected episodes, whose separate meanings become clear only when we see the episodes related as parts of the whole, Swift exposes the discrepancy between the demands made on human nature by Christian asceticism and the facts of actual human experience, in the process of making clear the basis upon which Gulliver must make his readjustment to men when the horses decide to banish him. When the Houyhnhnm master informs Gulliver that it is time for him to depart, his grief is so great that he swoons.¹² The horses remain unmoved by Gulliver's pleas to be permitted to remain, and, sadly, he makes preparations to depart. Gulliver's reluctance to return to civilization is so great that he formulates a plan to live elsewhere on a deserted island.¹³ He lands on what

⁹ Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees*, ed. F. B. Kaye, 2 vols. (Oxford, Clarendon, 1924), critical introduction, I, xlvii.

¹⁰ Cf. II, 7, p. 139, a passage satirizing pride of intellect and a predilection for "ideas, entities, abstractions, and transcendentals."

¹¹ It is not intended in this paper to give an exhaustive account of the formal features of the novel; rather it is the purpose to theorize from a sufficient number of instances. I wish to express, however, my indebtedness to the commentary supplied by Professor Case in his edition of the text. The contrast drawn by Professor Case between the attainable Utopia of Book II and the unattainable Utopia of Book IV first aroused my interest in a Mandevillian analysis of the problem. The conclusions that I draw below, however, are at variance with Professor Case's interpretation of the same contrast.

¹² IV, 10, p. 304.

¹³ IV, 11, p. 308.

appears to be an uninhabited spot, but soon he is attacked by wild men and he flees. While in flight, he spies a European ship, but, instead of welcoming it, he turns about to the island, choosing rather to trust the barbarians than the Europeans.¹⁴ The ship overtakes him, and, in spite of Gulliver's entreaties to be left behind, the sailors carry him aboard the ship. Gulliver is a sullen captive and he finally makes an effort to escape by jumping overboard. The captain now takes the situation in hand, and his kindnesses to Gulliver during the remainder of the voyage are so numerous that Gulliver gradually loses his antipathy toward men. All of these episodes clearly belong to a series, and only on the basis of our understanding of these related events can we determine what Swift wishes to say about Gulliver's search for a *modus vivendi* with men. What Gulliver responds to in the captain are moral qualities of the simplest sort. This is, therefore, Swift's way of expounding his conviction that the question of perfect behavior among men is irrelevant. On the basis of the simple virtue of charity, men can mitigate their lot in this world, and Swift adds, with carefully measured hopefulness, that men can even win for themselves a measure of mutual forbearance.

The novel hews closely to the anti-perfectionist line, but in order to see how Swift joins his anti-perfectionism with his skepticism, we must take note of Gulliver's own explanation of the reason why he has become willing to adjust himself to the captain: "At last I descended to treat him like an animal which had some little portion of reason."¹⁵

In order to understand fully what Gulliver means by "some little portion of reason," we must follow the thread of skepticism as it shuttles in and out of the story on its own level of balance and contrast. Again, the theme is introduced casually at first, later with deliberate satiric intent. The skeptical theme appears, as we shall see, in connection with the mystification over Gulliver's clothing.

II

The Brobdingnagian farmer who finds Gulliver hiding in the cornfield is obviously mystified by what he has found: "[he] began to look upon me as a curiosity. . . ." The farmer is especially mystified by Gulliver's clothing: "[he] therewith lifted up the lappets of my coat; which it seems he thought to be some kind of covering that nature had given me."¹⁶

We hear of the lappets again under circumstances of mystification in Book IV, but this time the Houyhnhnms do not speculate as idly as the Brobdingnagian farmer. The difference is created by

¹⁴ IV, 11, p. 310.

¹⁵ IV, 11, p. 312.

¹⁶ II, 1, p. 83.

Swift's favorite device of contrast between an idea first introduced casually and later reintroduced with satiric animus. In addition, the reader should recall that, because of the vogue in the eighteenth century of primitivistic discussion, the term "nature" had established itself as symbolic of an antithesis between the "arts" (man-made) and that which was in "nature" (God-made); the antithesis supplied the indication whether civilization was progressing over the primitive state of "nature" because of man's progress in the "arts" and "manufactures" (in this case, clothing), or conversely, whether civilization was on the retrograde precisely because the arts and manufactures represented not improvement, but a perversion of "nature" (in this case, man in his pristine, naked glory). The entire discussion by the Houyhnhnms hinges on this antithesis.

The bewilderment felt by the horses concerning Gulliver's appearance is stressed again and again in a way which makes clear the importance of the theme in the allegory. Upon Gulliver's first meeting with a Houyhnhnm,

the horse started a little when he came near me, but soon recovering himself looked full in my face with manifest tokens of wonder: he viewed my hands and feet, walking round me several times.¹⁷

As a second horse joins the first, they are evidently mystified by Gulliver's clothing:

The two horses came up close to me, looking with great earnestness upon my face and hands. The grey steed rubbed my hat all round with his right fore-hoof, and discomposed it so much that I was forced to adjust it better, by taking it off, and settling it again; whereat both he and his companion (who was a brown bay) appeared to be much surprised; the latter felt the lappet of my coat, and finding it to hang loose about me, they both looked with new signs of wonder.¹⁸

As the story unfolds, the mystification of the horses is discovered to rest on a two-fold basis, depending in the first instance on Gulliver's obvious resemblance to a Yahoo, and in the second instance on his equally obvious difference from a Yahoo. From the general contours of Gulliver's body and his limb appendages, the first impression gained by the Houyhnhnms is that Gulliver is a Yahoo:

The master horse ordered a sorrel nag, one of his servants, to untie the largest of these animals [Yahoos] and take him into the yard. The beast and I were brought close together, and our countenances diligently compared, both by master and servant, who thereupon repeated several times the word 'yahoo'.¹⁹

To his horror, Gulliver discovers that the comparison is not unreasonable:

¹⁷ IV, 1, p. 242.

¹⁸ *Idem*.

¹⁹ IV, 2, p. 247.

My horror and astonishment are not to be described, when I observed in this abominable animal, a perfect human figure. . . . The forefeet of the Yahoo differed from my hands in nothing else but the length of the nails, the coarseness and brownness of the palms, and the hairiness on the backs. There was the same resemblance between our feet, with the same differences, which I knew very well, though the horses did not, because of my shoes and stockings; the same in every part of our bodies, except as to hairiness and colour which I have already described.

The great difficulty that seemed to stick with the two horses, was to see the rest of my body so very different from that of a Yahoo, for which I was obliged to my clothes, whereof they had no conception.²⁰

Gulliver himself recognizes that but for the mystery of his clothing (whether it is his skin or an extracutaneous layer) the Houyhnhnms would be certain that he is a Yahoo. As it is, however, their impression of Gulliver is a mixed one: he is a Yahoo, and yet, somehow, he is not a Yahoo, since he has a different skin from the loathesomely hirsute Yahoos. Gulliver's clothing becomes, accordingly, the pivotal consideration in the ultimate judgment which the allegory places on human nature. The horror of Gulliver's discovery that but for his "skin," he might be taken for a Yahoo is, at this point in the narrative, the reader's horror as well. The satiric shaft has reached its objective, and it is managed through a calculated balance and contrast between the earlier casual introduction of the clothing theme and the later satiric use to which the theme is directed.

But when the mystification is at last cleared up, we must carefully observe that the results are disappointing, since they do not lead to the better judgment on men we are led to expect; the clarification of the mystery leads, rather, to a severer judgment on mankind. When Gulliver disrobes in preparation for retiring to sleep, he is accidentally discovered by the horses. The Houyhnhnms deliberate on the matter in council, and the decision which they reach is, as we shall presently see, not only the final statement in building up the mystery, but also the center of the entire allegory towards which the whole interrelated, intricate scheme of action has been directed. The Houyhnhnm master voices the carefully considered judgment of the council in declaring that Gulliver

differed indeed from other Yahoos, being much more cleanly, and not altogether so deformed, but in point of real advantage he thought I differed for the worse.²¹

The horses, that is, grant that Gulliver is superior to the Yahoos, but the full weight of the passage bears not on Gulliver's superiority but on his inferiority to the Yahoos: "in point of real advantage he thought I differed for the worse."

The care which Swift expended in creating the clothing mystery, in order, apparently, to lead the reader to a conclusion directly

²⁰ IV, 2, p. 247.

²¹ IV, 4, p. 260.

contrary to the one he is led to expect, would seem to be pure caprice. Actually, however, the unfavorable comparison of men with animals towards which the clothing mystery leads is precisely the conclusion required by Swift's skepticism of reason in its capacity for guiding men to the good life. And once again, some regard for the expository device of balance and contrast in the novel will make clear that the unexpected solution to the clothing mystery is not entirely unprepared for.

Actually, the Brobdingnagian king first draws the unfavorable comparison of men with animals, a move which parallels the effort of the Houyhnhnms to set Gulliver apart by singling out some trait in his nature which would differentiate him from the Yahoos. On his first sight of Gulliver, the Brobdingnagian king is disinclined to see in him anything more than "a piece of clockwork contrived by some ingenious artist."²² A searching examination is carried out by three great scholars of the realm; in council with the king, they arrive at the decision that Gulliver is indeed human. Aside from the parallel with the similar council called for the same purpose by the horses, it is important to observe that the giants, as well as the horses, find Gulliver's human qualities to be the mark not of his superiority but of his inferiority to animals:

[The scholars] all agreed that I could not be produced according to the regular laws of nature, because I was not framed with a capacity of preserving my life, either by swiftness, or climbing of trees, or digging holes in the earth. They observed by my teeth, which they viewed with great exactness, that I was a carnivorous animal; yet most quadrupeds being an overmatch for me, and field mice, with some others, too nimble, they could not imagine how I should be able to support myself, unless I fed upon snails and other insects, which they offered by many learned arguments to evince that I could not possibly do.²³

The animals, in short, fend for themselves, obtain food more efficiently, preserve themselves from danger, and in general, preserve the species far better than men.

A book which Gulliver finds in Glumdalclitch's bedchamber instructs Gulliver further on the subject of the better life in the animal kingdom. The book points out

how diminutive, contemptible, and helpless an animal was man in his own nature; how unable to defend himself from the inclemencies of the air, or the fury of wild beasts; how much he was excelled by one creature in strength, by another in speed, by a third in foresight, by a fourth in industry.²⁴

Swift's device of shuttling his ideas in and out of the narrative with a view towards balancing and contrasting an earlier noncom-

²² II, 3, p. 100.

²³ II, 3, p. 101.

²⁴ II, 7, pp. 140-41.

mittal statement with a later satirical statement, has been illustrated in two instances; the recurrence in Book IV of the comparison between the "happy beast" and inept man is not surprising, therefore.²⁵ The "happy-beast" theme is somewhat exceptional in the novel, however, since the discussion in Book II is by no means devoid of satirical point. The king's scorn of Gulliver's pretense to knowledge derived from books and the common-sense principle which guides political discussion in Book II by bringing to a focus Swift's skepticism of reason leave the clear implication that man is inept in comparison with the beast precisely because man's reason incapacitates him for leading the happy life. What is true, however, is that the discussion of the "happy beast" in Book IV takes place under altered circumstances which intensify the satire by making the implication explicit. The main differences are two. In the first place, Gulliver is actually placed in juxtaposition with animals, and secondly, the assumptions which are made in Book IV on a basis of primitivistic theory are used to determine the outcome of the argument.

The passage which states that Gulliver "in point of real advantage . . . differed for the worse" continues by contrasting explicitly man's ineptitude with the soundness of animal nature. Thus, the Houyhnhnm master points out that Gulliver's

nails were of no use either to my fore or hinder feet; as to my forefeet, he could not properly call them by that name, for he never observed me to walk upon them; that they were too soft to bear the ground; that I generally went with them uncovered, neither was the covering I sometimes wore on them of the same shape or so strong as that on my feet behind. That I could not walk with any security, for if either of my hinder feet slipped, I must inevitably fall. He then began to find fault with other parts of my body, the flatness of my face, the prominence of my nose, my eyes placed directly in front, so that I could not look on either side without turning my head: that I was not able to feed myself without lifting one of my forefeet to my mouth; and therefore nature had placed those joints to answer that necessity. He knew not what could be the use of those several clefts and divisions in my feet behind; that these were too soft to bear the hardness and sharpness of stones without a covering made from the skin of some other brute; that my whole body wanted a fence against heat and cold, which I was forced to put on and off every day with tediousness and trouble.²⁶

The discussion continues, emphasizing constantly the contrast of human ineptitude with the animal's success in instinctive behavior. But the searching investigation to which Gulliver's nature

²⁵ The "happy-beast" theme and its relations with the cognate ideas of skepticism and primitivism have been admirably treated by George Boas in a study entitled *The Happy Beast in French Thought of the Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore, 1933); the study contains a valuable introductory essay by Arthur O. Lovejoy, to whom we are indebted for the series of studies on primitivism to which this book belongs.

²⁶ IV, 4, pp. 260-61.

is subjected very soon makes clear why men compare unfavorably with animals; human reason is itself at fault and the latent implications in the contrast between Brobdingnagian common sense and Gulliver's pride of intellect are finally made explicitly clear in an attack from the viewpoint of skepticism on the sin of pride of intellect. The master horse declared:

that he looked upon us as a sort of animal to whose share, by what accident he could not conjecture, some small pittance of *reason* had fallen, whereof we made no other use than by its assistance to aggravate our *natural* corruptions, and to acquire new ones which Nature had not given us. That we disarmed ourselves of the few abilities she had bestowed, had been very successful in multiplying our original wants, and seemed to spend our whole lives in vain endeavours to supply them by our own inventions. That as to myself, it was manifest I had neither the strength or agility of a common Yahoo, that I walked infirmly on my hinder feet, had found out a contrivance to make my claws of no use or defence, and to remove the hair from my chin, which was intended as a shelter from the sun and weather. Lastly, that I could neither run with speed, nor climb trees like my 'brethren' (as he called them) the Yahoos in this country.²⁷

The master horse concluded, reaffirming his original observation,

that I agreed in every feature of my body with other Yahoos, except where it was to my *real disadvantage* in point of strength, speed, and activity, the shortness of my claws. . . .²⁸

Although it is quite true that the "happy-beast" theme in Book II is not totally devoid of satiric meaning, the difference created by the active juxtaposition of men with animals in Book IV becomes apparent. The mystification hovering over Gulliver's outward appearance and his clothing in Brobdingnag leads to conclusions about Gulliver's ineptitude as compared with beasts in a way which is in part satirical; but for the greater part, the discussion belongs to the element of the marvelous and the fantastic present in every travel tale, whether fictional or authentic. The bewilderment of the Brobdingnagians is natural in view of the strangeness of Gulliver's size. The comparison of Gulliver with beasts suggests itself to the Brobdingnagians rather as an afterthought or as a partial explanation of what it is that makes Gulliver appear so strange. In fact, the final explanation which the giants reach, unsatisfactory and incomplete though it may be, is that Gulliver is a "*lusus naturae*," a freak of nature.²⁹

The situation in Book IV is different not only because the proximity of Gulliver to the Yahoos forces on the Houyhnhnms the comparison of men with animals, but also because the hint that Gulliver is a "*lusus naturae*" is made explicit in a thorough-going ac-

²⁷ IV, 7, p. 280.

²⁸ IV, 7, p. 281. Italics mine.

²⁹ II, 3, p. 101.

count of a natural scheme of biological creations, or, in a word, in an account based on genetic assumptions.

In the first place, the seriousness of the genetic problem is reflected in the fact that the question of the origin of the Yahoos is the only matter which ever ruffled the equanimity of the Houyhnhnms: "In this council was resumed their old debate, and indeed, the only debate which ever happened in that country."³⁰ In this unique debate, the genetic line of approach to the problem of coping with the evil Yahoos is evidently of considerable importance. One member of the council

took notice of a general tradition, that Yahoos had not been always in that country; but that many ages ago two of these brutes appeared together upon a mountain, whether produced by the heat of the sun upon corrupted mud and slime, or from the ooze and froth of the sea, was never known.³¹

Gulliver's arrival in the land gives the horses a fresh insight into the problem which clarifies not only the question whence the Yahoos acquired their natures, but Gulliver's status as well. Since the Yahoos are not aborigines, the discussion continues, they evidently had become "in process of time much more savage than those of their own species in the country"³² of their origin. Gulliver is, therefore, an original Yahoo but "only a little more civilized by some tincture of reason."³³ Thus, the Houyhnhnms account for the Yahoos' retrogression and Gulliver's progression, at the same time. *Pari passu*, their genetic account also makes clear that, while in their origins in a primeval ooze all creatures are undifferentiated, men are differentiated by their quality of reason.

The coincidence of the genetic concept with the "happy-beast" theme thus presents the solution to the problem of human evil. The basic point is that man's distinguishing quality of reason is a distinction which cuts in two directions. Though men may be superior to animals in their "tincture of reason," actually, "in point of real advantage," men are inferior; animal nature and instinctive behavior guide animals better to the good life. On the other hand, the well-known human predilection for war, civil strife, and political corruption, the fatuous schemes of the crackpot inventors in Book III, make it only too clear that men, despite their rationality, are far below the Houyhnhnms in wisdom.

A recognition of the way in which the "happy-beast" theme and the genetic concept are made to coincide and complement one another finally makes clear how Swift's skeptical viewpoint has determined the outcome of the discussions. We have reason, Swift

³⁰ IV, 9, p. 294.

³¹ *Idem*.

³² IV, 9, p. 296.

³³ *Idem*.

is saying, but neither reason enough to render us really superior to animals, nor reason enough to bring us up to the level of the wise and kindly horses. We have reason enough to create mischief but not enough to prevent it. Gulliver, as he reflects on human destiny, says of men:

I considered them as they really were, Yahoos in shape and disposition, only a little more civilized, and qualified with the gift of speech, *but making no other use of reason than to improve and multiply those vices whereof their brethren in this country had only the share that nature allotted them.*⁸⁴

Perfection among men is, therefore, totally irrelevant, since nature allots certain vices in any case. Reason, on the other hand, cannot cope with the problem of evil, traditional Christian ethics notwithstanding; Swift on this point is in perfect agreement with his famous contemporary, Mandeville. As a matter of self-conquest, reason may be able to control the passions, but reason itself, socially extended, will create far more deleterious results in religious and political warfare, and in fantastic schemes for social reform, such as those perpetrated by the academicians in Book III. Common sense is not only enough for men; it is precisely the only solution held open to men whose natures are so tragically limited by their "pittance of reason." Thus, the solution reached in Book II from the double viewpoint of anti-perfectionism and skepticism of reason presents itself as the only possible solution of the dilemma created by man's middle state in the genetic scheme. Either we revert to sound animal instinct or else we make the desperate effort to gain complete rationality. The dilemma is exactly the one described by Pope:

Placed on this isthmus of a middle state,
A being darkly wise and rudely great:
With too much knowledge for the skeptic side,
With too much weakness for the stoic's pride,
He hangs between: in doubt to act, or rest;
In doubt to deem himself a god, or beast;
In doubt his mind or body to prefer;
Born but to die, and reasoning but to err;
Alike in ignorance his reason such,
Whether he thinks too little, or too much;
Chaos of thought and passion, all confused;
Still by himself abused, or disabused;
Created half to rise, and half to fall;
Great lord of all things, yet a prey to all;
Sole judge of truth, in endless error hurled:
The glory, jest, and riddle of the world!⁸⁵

⁸⁴ IV, 10, p. 303. Italics mine.

⁸⁵ Pope, *Essay on Man*, Epistle II, lines 3-18 (ed. Elwin and Courthope, *Works*, II, 375-76).

III

This investigation of the features of relationship and order in *Gulliver's Travels* has made clear that ideas in a novel take on whatever meaning they have as a result of their appropriateness to the *form* in which they are presented. In the case of the travel tale, the type of novel under consideration, the element of the marvelous, the strange, and the exotic, which the traveler naturally encounters and brings to his travelogue, is made to discharge a satiric function which becomes apparent only when the features of relationship and order as they were worked out in balance and contrast are found to form the coherent scheme of action which gives us our understanding of the novel. Expository devices for clarifying ideas in the travel tale and the ideas themselves become mutually appropriate in this sense of coherence. Presumably, our judgment of this novel as a masterpiece is dependent on our recognition that it is in this sense of mutual appropriateness of ideas to fictional form that the novel has gained the clarity of purpose, thought, and expression which mark it as a masterpiece.

If all the parts of the novel are mutually appropriate and inter-related in a coherent scheme of action, then the novel is self-explanatory and furnishes its own answers to whatever critical questions are raised. Psychiatry and sociology are thus irrelevant to the understanding of the unique features of mutually appropriate parts in *Gulliver's Travels*.

As a final example of such a critical approach to Swift's masterpiece, the question might be raised, as it frequently is: What is the explanation of Swift's undeniable preoccupation with filth and scatology in this book? The subject has provided a field day for psychiatrists with a taste for dabbling in literature and for literary critics with a taste for dabbling in psychiatry. Actually, the novel explains itself in that it indicates that the scatology functions artistically in the novel as one of its interrelated parts. The point is simply that since Swift is operating as a satirist for the purpose of exposing man in his egotistical pride, the scatology becomes a legitimate satirical device for pointing out the physical basis upon which the human ego rests. Basically, the situation is not a whit different from the comparison of men with beasts in the "happy-beast" theme; both are integral parts of the narrative. Neither is particularly flattering to men, but that is beside the point, for the novel itself explains the scatology. Other explanations from the field of psychoanalysis are irrelevant and supererogatory.

Northwestern University

GOLDSMITH'S AMERICAN TIGERS

By EDWARD D. SEEBER

For many years it was a common practice among critics, especially since Joseph Bédier, to treat with amused skepticism the *serpents verts*, the *flamants roses*, the *perroquets*, and the *ours enivrés de raisins* with which Chateaubriand peopled the banks of the Mississippi.¹ Today we know, through the studies of Professor Chinard,² that Chateaubriand's supposed vagaries are not in themselves proof that he never visited those regions, for they were a true and exact report of what reputable travelers—Carver, Bartram, and Imlay—had witnessed earlier.

Oliver Goldsmith's competency in matters of natural history has, similarly, been widely depreciated through the remarks of two critics in particular, Dr. Johnson and Macaulay. Boswell quotes Johnson as saying, "His genius is great, but his knowledge is small. . . . It is amazing how little Goldsmith knows," and "[Goldsmith] is now writing a Natural History, and will make it as entertaining as a Persian tale."³ More charitable and closer to the truth is Johnson's remark: "If he [Goldsmith] is content to take his information [for his *Animated Nature*] from others, he may get through his book with little trouble, and without endangering his reputation."⁴ Macaulay, thoroughly impatient with Goldsmith's curious and interesting *Animated Nature*, disparaged it as the work of a naïve author relating "with faith and with perfect gravity, all the most absurd lies which he could find in books of travels. . . ."⁵ Fortunately, as in the case of Chateaubriand, a careful study of the sources, method, and philosophy of *Animated Nature* has revealed a creation whose indisputable excellencies outweigh by far its real or fancied shortcomings.⁶

The Deserted Village contains two curious allusions to the animal kingdom in America. Professor John Robert Moore has recently shown that Goldsmith's conception of Georgia as "that horrible

¹ *Atala* (1801), Prologue.

² Gilbert Chinard, *L'Exotisme américain dans l'œuvre de Chateaubriand* (Paris, 1918), pp. 242 ff.

³ James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (London, 1924), II, 42, 73, 74.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 71.

⁵ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 13th ed., article on "Goldsmith"; also printed separately in numerous volumes of Macaulay criticism. The unsympathetic views of both Johnson and Macaulay have long since passed into France by way of the *Nouvelle biographie générale* and the *Grand dictionnaire Larousse du XIX^e siècle*.

⁶ James Hall Pitman, *Goldsmith's "Animated Nature": A Study of Goldsmith*, Yale Studies in English, LXVI (New Haven, 1924).

shore . . . where birds forget to sing . . ." was consistent with the widespread belief, emanating from Buffon, that all the American species, including man, had degenerated.⁷ In a second Georgia scene, Goldsmith speaks of "those poisonous fields" near the "wild Altama [Altamaha]" River

Where crouching tigers wait their hapless prey (line 355).

That the presence of tigers in North America has troubled many editors of this poem is apparent from the following notes, cited from the editions at my disposal:

The jaguar, or American tiger, is unknown on the banks of the Alatomha [sic].⁸

Goldsmith, like Englishmen of a later day, was a little hazy in his notion of what the wilderness of America contained . . . a certain poetic liberty attaches to the description in general.⁹

Some commentators object to this [tigers] on the ground that there are no tigers in Georgia; Rolfe thinks that the reference is to the jaguar and the puma, 'the American tigers.' Probably the actual presence or absence of the tiger was a matter about which Goldsmith was utterly indifferent. There are similar errors in other parts of the description. Goldsmith wanted tigers for poetical purposes, as Shakespeare required lions in the forest of Arden.¹⁰

This is a poetical licence, the American tiger or jaguar being unknown on the banks of the Alatomaha [sic].¹¹

. . . a poetical licence, as there are no tigers in the locality named.¹²

'This is a poetical licence; the American tiger, or jaguar, being unknown on the banks of the Alatomaha.' Mitford.¹³

Goldsmith not only places tigers in Georgia and Canada, but also in England.¹⁴

All but two of these editors assume that Goldsmith was carelessly extending the habitat of the jaguar (found only south of Texas) across to Georgia; they were easily led to this conclusion from the fact that the name "American tiger" had been applied to the jaguar

⁷ "Goldsmith's Degenerate Song-Birds: An Eighteenth-Century Fallacy in Ornithology," *Isis*, XXXIV (1943), 324-27.

⁸ *The Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. Peter Cunningham (London, 1854), I, 51.

⁹ *Masterpieces of British Literature*, ed. Horace E. Scudder (Boston and New York, 1895), p. 389.

¹⁰ *Standard English Poets: Spenser to Tennyson*, ed. Henry S. Pancoast (New York, 1899), p. 661.

¹¹ *The Poetical Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. Austin Dobson (London, 1905), p. 39.

¹² *Ibid.* (London, 1906), p. 189.

¹³ *Longer English Poems*, ed. John Wesley Hales (London, 1911), p. 355. The citation is from Dobson's edition (cf. n. 11, above); the note is Dobson's, not Mitford's.

¹⁴ *The Deserted Village and other Poems*, ed. Robert N. Whiteford (New York, 1913), p. 344.

since the eighteenth century.¹⁵ That Goldsmith attached no such meaning to his word *tigers* is apparent from his observation in *Animated Nature* that "the American tyger seldom exceeds three [feet]";¹⁶ the jaguar averages between six and seven feet.

From his principal source, Buffon, he had learned that the term "tiger" was loosely applied, in America, to nearly a dozen different animals;¹⁷ furthermore, we know by way of the same source that Goldsmith clearly had in mind the cougar (known also as the panther, puma, mountain lion, or American lion):

There is an animal of America, which is usually called the Red Tiger, but Mr. Buffon calls it the Cougar, which, no doubt, is very different from the tiger of the east. Some, however, have thought proper to rank both together; and I will take leave to follow their example, merely because the cougar is more like the tiger in every thing, except the colour, than any other animal I know. . . .¹⁸

The "American Tiger" is properly placed in the vicinity of Georgia according to the following evidence: (1) John Lawson, in *A Voyage to Carolina* (1709), wrote, "Tygers are never met withal in the Settlement; but are more to the Westward";¹⁹ (2) the author of a memoir of 1735 stated that in Georgia "We saw . . . four tygers and six bears";²⁰ and (3) E. Eggleston asserted in 1894 that "The panther was long called a 'tyger' in the Carolinas."²¹

It is evident, then, that Goldsmith was correct both in his use of the word *tigers* and in the habitat that he ascribed to them.

Indiana University

¹⁵ "L'animal auquel on a donné le nom de *tigre d'Amérique*, & que les Brasiiliens nomment *jaguara*, a plus de rapport au léopard qu'au tigre" (Diderot, *Encyclopédie*, article "Tigre"). For earlier examples, cf. *NED*, article "Tiger."

¹⁶ *An History of the Earth and Animated Nature* (London, 1774), II, 332.

¹⁷ "On s'étoit d'abord trompé en Europe en appelant *tigres* tous les animaux à peau tigrée d'Asie et d'Afrique: cette erreur transportée en Amérique y a doublé; . . . et comme ces animaux . . . qui se sont trouvés en Amérique sont en assez grand nombre, et qu'on n'a pas laissé de leur donner à tous le nom commun de *tigre* . . . il se trouve qu'au lieu d'une seule espèce qui doit porter ce nom, il y en a neuf ou dix . . ." (*Œuvres complètes de Buffon*, section "Les Tigres" [Paris, Baudouin frères, 1826], XVI, 25-26).

¹⁸ Goldsmith, *op. cit.*, III, 244. In this work the plates of The Tiger and The Cougar are bound together, facing page 248.

¹⁹ *DAE*, article "Tiger."

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Century Magazine* (April, 1894), according to *NED*, article "Tiger."

SHERIDAN'S MINORITY WAITERS

By PHILIP B. DAGHLIAN

ABSOLUTE. Well—recruit will do—let it be so—

FAG. O, Sir, recruit will do surprisingly.—Indeed, to give the thing an air, I told Thomas that your Honour had already inlisted five disbanded chairmen, seven minority waiters, and thirteen billiard markers (*The Rivals*, II, i).

Those editors of *The Rivals* who annotate Fag's reply explain it by quoting the *OED* on the term "minority waiters":

Meaning obscure; by some explained as 'a waiter out of work,' by others as 'an extraordinary tide-waiter,' i.e., one not regularly employed.¹

But while Sheridan was composing *The Rivals* in the autumn of 1774,² Robert Mackreth, a former billiard-marker and waiter at White's Club, was attracting attention as the new member for Castle Rising. Mackreth, who had inherited White's in 1761 on the death of the original owner, Robert Arthur, soon turned the management of the club over to an agent and devoted his energies to bookmaking and usury.³ George Walpole, third Earl of Orford, became indebted to him and in October, 1774, paid off his obligations by naming Mackreth to the family borough of Castle Rising, a procedure which naturally distressed Horace Walpole, whose sense of family pride was being outraged constantly by the erratic activities of his improvident nephew. Walpole's letters for this period contain several anxious references to this new shame which had been visited on the family of the great Sir Robert, and which was causing widespread public amusement.⁴ The following lines, from a broadside attack on George Colman which Walpole received anonymously in 1779, show that Mackreth's notoriety did not subside for some time:

Ours is a strange promiscuous age,
Observe the senate, Bob the waiter
Sits there like any grave debater,
And when the question's put goes forth
For ay or no like Fox or North.

Walpole added a manuscript note identifying Bob as Mackreth.⁵

Considering the extensive notice which Mackreth's election received at the time, it is most likely that a London audience of 1775

¹ See for example J. Q. Adams, Riverside edition, p. 34.

² Thomas Moore, *Memoirs . . . of Sheridan* (1825), pp. 90-91.

³ For Mackreth, see *DNB*.

⁴ Walpole to Mason, [October, 1774]; Walpole to Mann, October 22, 1774; Walpole to Lady Ossory, November 14, 1774; Walpole to Conway, November 27, 1774. *Letters*, ed. Toynbee (Oxford, 1903-1905), IX, 66, 75, 96, 102.

⁵ Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, ed. F. W. Hilles and P. B. Daghlain (New Haven, 1937), V, 65-67.

would have perceived in Fag's remark about minority waiters and billiard-markers a topical allusion to him,⁶ even as it recognized the titles of the novels which Lydia Languish borrowed from the circulating libraries of Bath.⁷

University of Rochester

⁶ The fact that *minority* is capitalized in the Larpent manuscript of the play may be significant in stressing the concrete political significance of the speech, although we cannot place too much emphasis on this, in the light of eighteenth-century standards of capitalization and punctuation. See *The Rivals*, ed. Richard L. Purdy (Oxford, 1935), p. 22. L. B. Namier, *England in the Age of the American Revolution* (London, 1930), p. 43 n., refers to the popular amusement aroused by Mackreth's election.

⁷ R. Crompton Rhodes, ed., *The Plays and Poems of . . . Sheridan* (New York, 1929), I, 10-13.

MARK PATTISON AND THE VICTORIAN SCHOLAR

By KINGSBURY BADGER

I

At Oxford in the 1860's two theologians—the Zeus-like Dr. Edward Bouverie Pusey and the Poseidon of rhetorical preaching, Dr. Henry P. Liddon—were nearing the end of their reign. Not yet subverted by the growing strength of Biblical criticism and natural science, their dominion was being materially impaired in some quarters by two dangerous thinkers—Professors Benjamin Jowett and Mark Pattison. The first had the bright brow of Apollo and was highly esteemed as the Regius Professor of Greek, but he was a *Broad Churchman*, and too radiantly happy about it; consequently he was pretty generally discredited as a clergyman, was excluded from the University pulpit, and was paid considerably less than his orthodox colleagues. The second, recently elected Rector of Lincoln College, could not be so readily dealt with; for dwelling apart in the gloomy regions of skeptical thought and pure scholarship, he exerted his influence insidiously.

To the average undergraduate at Oxford, and to many members of the faculty as well, the elderly Rector of Lincoln was not merely forbidding; he was actually terrifying. His stiff, reserved manner and his firm intolerance of fools would have been enough; but his appalling omniscience, his devastating sarcasm, his cackling laughter, most of all perhaps, his distressingly long silences in conversation—how these chilled into timidity even the boldest of students! Seldom opening a conversation or trying to put a person at his ease, he would sit motionless in his chair, his head resting forward on his chest, and emit an occasional "Ah" or "Indeed," his gray eyes staring coldly at you. Sometimes the stare turned into a glare and his harsh nasal voice was raised in reproof; in fact, there were some who declared that they had never heard anything but a snarl from the old cynic. Lean, shrunken-shanked, and loose-jointed in the body, he had a massive head set upon heavy shoulders. Hideous indeed was his pale face, lined across the forehead, thinly whiskered with a reddish-brown mustache and beard, pinched and grim about the wrinkled, thin-lipped mouth. Small wonder that orthodox students, well warned of his heretical views, avoided him as if he were Hades!

To a few undergraduates—and these were usually among the better students—there was quite another Professor Pattison. These few, feeling confident that their religious faith could survive liberal,

and even skeptical, learning, sought out the distinguished tutor, passing on word from one to the other that here was a teacher whose personal peculiarities and intellectual challenges might well be braved. Those with genuine intellectual curiosity—how keen he was to discern the real thing and how contemptuous of the stunted half-knowledge of indolence!—found him encouraging, stimulating, challenging. His eyes, so often coldly critical, dull with fatigue, or shadowed with the umbrage of disappointment, would then glitter with wit or the dawning of fresh thoughts, sometimes would fairly glow with enthusiasm, and even sympathy and approval. The inflections of his “Ah’s” and “Indeed’s” would express a variety of shades of meaning—doubt or delight, disinclination to continue with the subject, or aroused interest, surprise, amusement. Although it was true that he rarely opened a conversation with anyone, he was not slow to contribute pertinent information or comment, taking care not to interrupt, in fact often exercising an almost painful suspension of judgment until you had finished speaking. Always he wanted to know first “what you think.” More than one colleague and friend has spoken of what his pupil T. Althaus called his “generous readiness to sacrifice his own time in order to help others.” If his temperament was saturnine, it was not morose; if his wit was often caustic, it was not seldom mercurial. Contrary to general belief, his talk was not invariably about books. Since boyhood a lover of natural scenery and bird study, of horses and riding, he maintained his outdoor interests and could be counted upon to join animatedly in talk of horse racing, rowing, hunting, or fishing. He and Mrs. Pattison both enjoyed entertaining at the Lodge in Lincoln Quadrangle.

Mrs. Pattison might have been thought of as the lovely Persephone of the story, carried away to live with gloomy Dis. There was, indeed, no little talk to that effect, for she was nearly thirty years younger than her middle-aged husband. “Mrs. Pat,” as her friends called her, was very real and charming. Her youthful high spirits, her sprightly wit, but above all her refreshing determination not to be stifled by the solemnities and decorums of Oxford—these qualities must have helped greatly to alleviate any uneasiness in their carefully selected guests at the Lodge. Her drawing room, distinguished by the absence of the usual Victorian knickknacks and trumperies, was elegantly, if sparsely, furnished in the French manner, with a few old girandoles and mirrors on its white paneled walls and a Persian rug with a black center on the floor. Her working room upstairs was filled with French engravings, etching tools and materials, and scores of foreign books, especially on travel and the decorative arts, which she had picked up on the continent. Hippolyte Taine was drawn to the Rector, he said, but even more to the “*jolie jeune*, Mme. Pattison,” whom he described as not only the leading

mind of feminine society at Oxford, but also as "an erudite authority on everything pertaining to the French Renaissance."¹ Her artistic taste admirably complemented the scholarly interests of her husband, an authority on French philologists of the same period. It was her never-failing interest in people above all else that made her such a charming hostess; and he, in his own reserved and cautiously selective way, shared her delight in social gatherings, though he did demand intellect as well as amiability and avoided respectabilians and other fools. They would frequently take their guests over to the croquet grounds near the Museum or to see the "eights" races from Christ Church meadow. Mrs. Pat enjoyed taking her visitors—George Eliot on one occasion—in her pony carriage, oftentimes driving by their country retreat, The Firs, Haddington, and past Littlemore, John Henry Newman's conventual dwelling.

One Sunday evening in the spring of 1870, the Pattisons and their guests were seated at the supper table in their ivy-covered lodgings in the corner of Lincoln Quadrangle. At the Rector's right hand sat George Eliot, then in her early fifties; and opposite her, on his left, sat eighteen-year-old Mary Arnold, Matthew Arnold's niece. The other guests were the voluble George Henry Lewes and Ingram Bywater, Pattison's intimate friend, who later became professor of Greek. Mr. Lewes, encouraged by Mrs. Pattison and Mr. Bywater, did most of the talking; the Rector, perhaps tired from his studies, spoke little, though he did contribute a subtle, illuminating, or appropriately caustic comment now and then. His learning had made him fastidious (some people said irritable) and chary of generalizations; yet he could be fluent and sociable enough, as was evident later on in the evening. Mary Arnold remembered well how they had talked together for hours about literature and about the religious problems which perplexed her; how he had suggested books for further reading, encouraging her to "get to the bottom of something," to "choose a subject and know everything about it."

After supper, George Eliot, following a hint from the Rector, drew Mary Arnold aside into the drawing room and talked about Spanish literature and the trip she had made to Spain just before writing her *Spanish Gipsy*. When they rejoined the others, who had gone on through the gallery and into the study to smoke and talk, they found a lively conversation going on. The Rector was standing, book in hand, before the fireplace, a small framed picture of Newman showing on the mantelpiece over his shoulder. As they discussed foreign scholars—Renan, Ranke, Curtius, F. A. Wolf—his mind, far from donnish in the conventional sense, became scintillant with quips and epigrams, unsparing invective and keen appraisals. Talk of University affairs was no less lively. Pattison and Bywater hurled jibes

¹ T. Wright, *The Life of Walter Pater* (London, 1907), I, 252.

at Balliol and Christ Church—at the first for aiming to turn out public officials with prudential morals instead of sound scholars, and at the other for harboring the leaders of the reactionary High Church party, Doctors Pusey and Liddon. Upon mention of Newman's name, however, Pattison spoke with respect that amounted to veneration, though he lamented the fact that a man so gifted with force of dialectic and beauty of rhetorical exposition was so limited in his philosophical culture. "A. P. Stanley once said to me," he remarked, "'How different the fortunes of the Church of England might have been if Newman had been able to read German.'" So the conversation flowed on.

It may be said that nothing momentous or epoch-making in the usual sense happened at that supper party over seventy years ago; and yet what scintillations of wit and excitement of the imagination! Time has not preserved much of what was said about philosophy and art—the long monologues of Mr. Lewes, the remarks of the future historian of French painting and decorative art,² the witticisms of the classical scholars; and yet in their letters, memoirs, and novels all of these personalities are still living. More significant than the words spoken were the memorable impressions of a fascinating interplay of temperaments and minds. The Rector evidently stirred the imagination more than any others present.

George Eliot, then listening so intently to everything that Mr. Lewes said, had already written most of her best novels. Significantly, however, she was at that very time beginning work on her masterpiece, *Middlemarch*, in which she was to create a scholarly character named Casaubon. Some years before, Professor Pattison had written for the *Quarterly Review* an article on the French classicist and theologian, Isaac Casaubon, and he was then deep in his more exhaustive study of the same man. It must have seemed at times as if the old Renaissance scholar himself were talking in the person of Mark Pattison. What a model for the literary portrait painter!

Mary Arnold was fascinated too. "The Rector himself was an endless study to me," she said many years later. Then she was a quiet, self-conscious lady of strict Evangelical upbringing; consequently she must have been frequently shocked by the speculative freedom of the conversation that evening. She was probably a bit disconcerted too by Mrs. Pat's cigarette-smoking (almost unique in Victorian circles), and not a little uneasy in the presence of Mr. Lewes and Marion Evans, because of their unsanctified and socially un-

² Emilia Frances Strong Pattison was an art critic for the *Academy* and author of *The Renaissance of Art in France* (1879), illustrated by herself. In his *The Renaissance*, Walter Pater refers to her book as "a work of great taste and learning" (Wright, *op. cit.*, I, 252).

mentionable relationship. Her Evangelical view of the Sabbath made her proud that she was not, like her hostess, beautifully dressed in a décolleté evening gown. Many years later, when thoroughly emancipated from such prudishness, she wrote that she used to attend those Sunday gatherings "purposely, in a high woolen frock, sternly but comfortably conscious of being sublime—if only one were not ridiculous!" In 1885, fifteen years after this visit to the Pattisons, she began writing *Robert Elsmere*, which was one of the most widely read and alarming books of the century. In that book she created a scholarly character, Squire Westover, concerning the original of which there could be little doubt.

Professor Pattison was very probably aware of some of the impressions he was making upon his literary friends that evening in the spring of 1870, though he could hardly have suspected that he would be featured in their books. If he did not live to read *Robert Elsmere* (1888), he did read *Middlemarch* (1871-1872) and, according to Mrs. Ward, passed by "with amused indifference" the legend that he was the original Mr. Casaubon. Whether or not he read Rhoda Broughton's *Belinda* (1883) and William H. Mallock's *The New Republic* (1876), both of which were written with him in mind, he certainly understood the attitude of the general reading public toward the type of scholar which they caricatured.³

II

As to the value of the scholar to society, the average Englishman of Victorian times had no more than the usual confidence of the worldling. What made matters really serious, however, was the attitude of the Established Church and the Universities it controlled. Beyond doubt, it was felt, the English gentleman—not the freethinker fed upon French materialism and atheism, and not the neologist or pantheist led astray by German rationalism—formed the only hierarchy for a respectable society. Scholars sometimes had a most disturbing way of publishing controversial works, quite irrespective of

³ Lionel Tollemache, a friend of his, says that Pattison rather prided himself upon the way he kept up on current novels. The Rector referred in his *Memoirs*, p. 280, not only to "the odious picture of me which * * * once drew in a sermon from the University pulpit," but also to "* * * 's caricature of me." See *Essays*, I, Article IX.

The chief sources for the facts, portraits, and quotations in this section are the following: Mrs. Humphry Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, 2 vols. (New York, 1918), and the Introduction to *Robert Elsmere* (New York, 1911); John Morley, "Mark Pattison," *Critical Miscellanies* (New York, 1923); T. Althaus, "Recollections of Mark Pattison," *Temple Bar*, vol. 73 (April, 1885); Lionel Tollemache, "Mark Pattison," *Journal of Education*, Supplement, No. 191 (June 1, 1885); W. Tuckwell, *Reminiscences of Oxford* (London, 1901); J. W. Cross, *Life and Letters of George Eliot* (New York, 1884); and R. C. Christie, "Pattison," *DNB*.

their effects upon vested interests. This practice unsettled faith, which had not been firm since the French Revolution; it unsettled faith in culture, faith in the Church, faith in all authority—that is, in the aristocracy.

At the beginning of the century, Coleridge wrote to his friend, the Reverend John P. Estlin, that he found precious little learning, or Christianity either, at the Universities. Was not the simple and scholarly formality of the Unitarians preferable to the gentlemanliness of the winebibbing students of Oxford and Cambridge?

... with the young men at Oxford and Cambridge 'the Gentleman' is the all-implying Word of Honour—a thing more blasting to real Virtue, real Liberty, real standing forth for the Truth in Christ, than all the Whoredoms and Impurities which this Gentlemanliness does most generally bring with it.⁴

Emerson, on his second visit to England, in 1847, observed the same lamentable condition. The Church was so undermined by German Biblical criticism, he said, that any examination of religion was "interdicted with screams of horror," or you found yourself talking "with a box-turtle."

The action of the university [Oxford], both in what is taught and in the spirit of the place, is directed more on producing an English gentleman, than a saint or a psychologist. It ripens a bishop, and extrudes a philosopher.⁵

Such an attitude is quite understandable if we recall that Young Oxford was full of liberals, reformers, and "Germanizers" of all sorts—the Oriel "Noetics" (intellectuals), political and philosophical radicals, scientific historians, and worst of all, a new kind of historical critic of the Bible who was studying the Germans and prying into the Scriptures.⁶ It seemed best to continue to deny nonconformists the privilege of higher education at Oxford and Cambridge, though, ironically, it was not from those without the Establishment but from the liberals, Latitudinarians, Broad Churchmen within that the trouble came.

By the end of the first third of the century, Dr. Thomas Arnold, greatly disturbed by the disruptive thinking of the times and the vulgarity of the conduct in the public schools, affirmed, "What we look for here [at Rugby] is, first, religious and moral principle; sec-

⁴ E. L. Griggs, *Unpublished Letters of Coleridge* (New Haven, 1933), I, 136.

⁵ Emerson, "Religion," *English Traits*, Concord edition (Boston & New York, 1903), pp. 222-23.

⁶ The scope of this paper will not permit a discussion of the growth of Biblical criticism in England. As evidence of its impact, it is sufficient to recall the Marsh-Milner controversy over the Prayer Book, the Hampden controversy, the effect of the translations of David Strauss's *Das Leben Jesu* and of Renan's *Vie de Jésus*, the Colenso affair, and the publication of *Essays and Reviews*. See F. W. Cornish, *A History of the English Church in the Nineteenth Century*, 2 vols. (New York, 1910).

only, gentlemanly conduct; thirdly, intellectual ability." Now, if these attributes are to be so separated, his order of importance is unquestionably the proper one, but did not such emphasis result all too often in the elimination of the last for the sake of insuring the other two? Modern readers remember with what mercilessly gentle irony Lytton Strachey exposed, in *Eminent Victorians*, the essential shallowness of Dr. Arnold's system. They may have found amusing the biographer's portrait of a monstrosously sentimental and egotistical Headmaster; yet they have regretted his neglect of the pioneer in Biblical criticism and historical method in general.⁷ But, this question still remains: why did the Headmaster of Rugby de-emphasize intellectual ability at a time when young men were certain to find themselves face to face with critical rationalism at the Universities?

Thomas Hughes, a pupil of Arnold, perceived this mistake and pointed it out in *Tom Brown at Rugby* (1857), although he blamed the English public rather than the Headmaster. Squire Brown asks himself, just before sending Tom off to school, whether he shall advise him to buckle down and become a scholar. Through his mind run these thoughts:

Well, but he isn't sent to school for that—at any rate, not for that mainly. I don't care a straw for Greek particles, or the digamma; no more does his mother. What is he sent to school for? . . . If he'll turn out a brave, helpful, truth-telling Englishman, and a Christian, that's all I want.⁸

Conformity, respectability—that came first, of course. Englishmen were practical. After all, where would scholarship get one—unless he should have the foolish notion of becoming a teacher? A clergyman would be all right; yes, he might go into the Church and someday become a fine gentlemanly bishop. Good! But he must avoid intellectual pride; so many preachers of late had been warning young men against pride of intellect.

In the year following the publication of the notorious *Essays and Reviews* (1860), Dr. Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, preached at St. Mary's a stirring sermon on "Neglect of the Revelation."⁹ The same incident, or one closely similar, is described in Hughes's *Tom Brown at Oxford* (1861). Miss Winter and her cousin

⁷ Strachey must have overlooked countless illustrations of Dr. Arnold's concern about England's insularity. See Dean Stanley, *Life of Thomas Arnold* (New York, 1877), I, 194, and II, 342-43, and 355.

⁸ Hughes, *Tom Brown at Rugby* (Boston, 1870), p. 84.

⁹ From J. A. Symonds, a hearer, we have this account: "He levelled at the Essayists in a general harangue against neglect of Revelation, considered in four lights—kinds, causes, consequences, and cures. The kinds were three, those resulting from pride of the world, pride of the flesh, and pride of the intellect. The Essayists were brought in under the third, and he 'gave it them strong.'" The account concludes with "More oratory than argument" (H. F. Brown, *John Addington Symonds* [New York, 1895], p. 131). See *The Revelation of God and The Probation of Man: Two Sermons*, by the Bishop of Oxford (1861).

were attending the second of three services during a day of religious dissipation. The cousin, finding the sermon too difficult for her young brain, lapsed into examination of the bonnets and people about her. Miss Winter

knew enough of religious party strife to follow the preacher, and was made very uncomfortable by his discourse, which consisted of an attack upon the recent publications of the most eminent and best men in the university. Poor Miss Winter came away with a vague impression of the wickedness of all persons who dare to travel out of the beaten tracks, and that the most unsafe state of mind in the world is that which inspires and aspires, and cannot be satisfied with the regular draft of spiritual doctors in high places.

Her father helped her little when he praised the sermon as "a noble protest against the fearful tendencies of the day to popery and pantheism." Not long afterwards she was further perplexed by a warning not to talk with a young M. A. because he was a "Germanizer." Yes, he was even worse than a Tractarian. Why?

Because one knows the worst of where the tractarians are going. They may go to Rome, and there's an end of it. But the Germanizers are going into the abysses, and no one knows where.¹⁰

It was best for the enquiring mind to stay within the pale of orthodoxy and shun the forces of corruption.¹¹

How difficult it was to shun the forces of corruption! Charles Bampton, the hero of *Perversion: or the Causes and Consequences of Infidelity* (1856), first came under the maleficent influence of a German tutor who had been educated to Hegelian pantheism at Göttingen and was then perverted by his college acquaintance George Archer, a reprobate who had read *The Progressive Review*, Mr. Neulicht (a Deist), Bentham, Comte, and others of their ilk, with the result that he ended up an atheist. After having fed Bampton with the writings of Francis Newman, so as to shatter his faith in Dr. Arnold, Tholuck, and Neander, and after having shown him

¹⁰ Hughes, *Tom Brown at Oxford* (Philadelphia, 1861), pp. 277 and 289.

¹¹ W. H. White, *The Autobiography of Mark Rutherford* (New York, 1916), p. 14, comments on the education for the ministry offered in a small dissenting college of the middle of the century, where "the theological and biblical teaching was a sham." To refute the "shallow infidel," the President delivered the same lectures in apologetics from year to year, making no attempt to keep abreast of the times. "The President's task was all the easier because he knew nothing of German literature; and, indeed, the word 'German' was a term of reproach signifying something awful, although nobody knew exactly what it was." Charles Kingsley's *Yeast* (New York, 1881), p. 54, reveals the prejudice and limited education of an Anglican vicar. The hero, Lancelot Smith, who had received a gentleman's education at one of the Universities, opened his doubts to his vicar. "He told me, hearing me quote Schiller, to beware of the Germans, for they were all Pantheists at heart. I asked him whether he included Lange and Bunsen, and it appeared that he had never read a German book in his life. He then flew furiously at Carlyle, and I found that all he knew of him was from a certain review in the *Quarterly*."

Hume's argument for the improbability of miracles, Archer

suggested doubts as to the date and authenticity of the most important portions of the New Testament, and explained to him the theory according to which all the supernatural elements of the Gospel narrative are resolved into the mythical additions of a later age.

A lad with a weak will and a desultory mind, Eampton also fell victim to all kinds of teachers and preachers, from Mr. Mooney, an odious Low-Church minister, to his tutor, Mr. Lapwing, a Tractarian who "had muddled a brain originally weak by metaphysical speculations, till he had not a clear idea in his head."¹² Fortunately, the perverted youth was finally brought from darkness to light by a Mr. Hawkins, Fellow of Cardinal College.

If only all college Fellows could be depended upon to lead doubting students back to faith in Revelation! If only there were not among college tutors so many skeptics! Bishop Wilberforce felt it his duty to warn all believers against the danger of heretical scholarship. In a sermon entitled "Doubt as to the Revelation," delivered in 1861, he became really eloquent. Warning his hearers against "the interrogations of an enquiring faith," and against doubts "cherished and encouraged under the garb of piety," he delivered a heavy blow upon one person in particular.

It is not from the imagination that I have drawn this warning. I can tell you of an overshadowed grave which closed in on such a struggle and such an end as that at which I have glanced. In it was laid a form which had hardly reached the fullness of early manhood. That young man had gone young and ardent, and simply faithful to the tutelage of one, himself I doubt not a sincere believer, but who sought to reconcile the teaching of our Church, in which he ministered, with the dreams of rationalism. His favorite pupil learned his lore and it sufficed for his needs whilst health beat high in his youthful veins. But on him sickness and decay closed early in, and, as the glow of health faded, the intellectual lights, for which he had exchanged the simplicity of faith began to pale; whilst the viper brood of doubts which almost unawares he had let slip into his soul, crept forth from their hiding places and raised against him fearfully their envenomed heads. And they were too strong for him. The teacher who had suggested could not remove them; and in darkness and despair his victim died before his eyes the doubter's death.

Was this teacher one of the Essayists attacked in a recent sermon? Very likely. Could it have been the arch-heretic Professor Jowett? Probably not, for he was far too good-natured and hopeful to be a real doubter. It was more likely to be Dr. Pattison to whom the good Bishop had referred. Just such stories about him had been going around—and he was so morose, so sinister-looking.¹³

¹² W. J. Conybeare, *Perversion* (New York, 1856), pp. 179 and 215. Note the influence of D. F. Strauss and his myth theory.

¹³ Bishop of Oxford, *op. cit.*, p. 37. This may be the "odious picture of me" to which Pattison referred in his *Memoirs*, p. 280. Could the student have been R. J. Ogle, who died in 1851 (*Memoirs*, p. 271)? See Pattison's defense of critical inquiry against the Bishop of Oxford's party, *Essays*, II, 276-308.

III

In Victorian England there was no better example of the scholar *per se* than Mark Pattison. John Morley, in one of his penetrating biographical essays, wrote of the *Memoirs* of the Oxford professor:

What the Rector has done is to deliver a tolerably plain and unvarnished tale of a peculiar type of mind along a path of its own, in days of intellectual storm and stress. It stirs no depths, it gives no powerful stimulus to the desire after either knowledge or virtue—in a word it does not belong to the literature of edification. But it is an instructive account of a curious character, and contains valuable hints for more than one important chapter in the mental history of the century.¹⁴

This "curious character" represents the peculiar type of mind that devotes itself to learning for its own sake. Not that Mark Pattison engrossed himself in factual knowledge alone; he was neither a Sibrandus Schafnaburgensis, whose books merited ridicule and dry rot, nor a revered scholastic grammarian. Though, like Browning's grammarian, he valued above all books "theirs who most studied man, the bard and sage," this scholar made no decision "not to Live but Know." It was not enough to emulate Paracelsus, who exclaimed

I still must hoard and heap and class all truths
With one ulterior purpose: I must know.

A hoarder and heaper and classifier of all truth Pattison certainly was; not since Coleridge and Julius Hare had there been in England such an omnivorous reader and bibliophile. He admired the leading continental scholars of the past—Joseph Scaliger, Isaac Casaubon, D. A. Wyttenbach, David Ruhnken, and L. K. Valkenaer; English classical scholars—Bentley and Porson; and more recent "general" scholars such as Herder, Lessing, Niebuhr, and Renan abroad, Bunsen and Max Müller there at Oxford. Like these, he was really a philosopher as much as a philologist, or critic of texts, in our narrower modern sense. He stood about midway, both in time and in temperament, between the devout scholar Archdeacon Hare and the "pejorist" and Cambridge recluse, A. E. Housman, to the latter of whom the tree of knowledge was "a tree to be desired to make one wise."¹⁵ He was always careful to distinguish between the mere acquisition of factual knowledge and the discerning power, between the search for the thing known and the mental habit of evaluating what is known by relating it to a general philosophy of life. To him the scholar was decidedly more than his research and his dissertation, which is perhaps more than can be said for many a university scholar today. Here is his definition of learning:

¹⁴ Morley, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

¹⁵ Housman, *Introductory Lecture* (Cambridge, 1937), last page.

Learning is a peculiar compound of memory, imagination, scientific habit, accurate observation, all concentrated, through a long period, on the analysis of literature. The result of this sustained endeavor is not a book, but a man. It cannot be embodied in print, it consists in the living word. True learning does not consist in the possession of a stock of facts—the merit of a dictionary—but in the discerning spirit, a power of appreciation, '*judicium*' as it was called in the sixteenth century—which is the result of the possession of a stock of facts.¹⁶

Mark Pattison was true to his ideal in that he developed *judicium* and the philosophical temper; the tragedy of his life was his failure to attain the first rank of greatness either as a writer or as a man. Too late, he confesses in his *Memoirs*, he came to the realization that "the highest life is the art to live, and that both men, women, and books are equally essential ingredients of such a life."¹⁷ It is indeed to his credit that, perfectionist that he was, he saw clearly that the result of his too secluded life and his not too well sustained endeavors was not so much a well-rounded man as a well-trained mind, not so much a man of letters as a learned critic. Could he have read Emerson's "The American Scholar"? Surely he judged himself too harshly. Both the record of his life and the testimony of his friends convince us that he was neither so blundering nor so vindictive and cynical as the account he wrote late in life would lead one to suppose. Careful reading of his writings, moreover, makes us certain that his literary production was by no means inconsiderable.

As John Morley saw it, Pattison's life was a pathetic failure because of two fatal flaws in his character—weakness of will and lack of the impulse toward literary production. To his insistence that "in the intellectual sphere grasp and mastery are incompatible with the exigencies of a struggle," Morley replied by pointing to Samuel Johnson, Scott, Burke, Carlyle, Diderot, Dante, and Milton as examples of men undaunted by the vexations and chagrins of perverse fortune.¹⁸ They faced the truth and did not rationalize in their writings as did Pattison in his *Casaubon*, *Milton*, and *Memoirs*. It might have been fairer to have said—and Pattison admitted it himself—that he was hampered not so much by weakness of will as by lack of confidence in his own ability and by constant insistence upon

¹⁶ Pattison, *Casaubon* (London, 1875), p. 489. See also his essay on Scaliger, *Essays*, I, 133. For his humanistic distinction between the scholar and the man of learning, see his "Grotius" and "Erasmus" (*Britannica*, ninth ed., XI, 195 and 457), in the latter of which he says, "Erasmus was not a 'learned' man or an 'érudit.' He did not make a study apart of antiquity for its own sake, but used it as an instrument of culture." In his *Milton* (E. M. L. Series, Harper, n.d.), pp. 205-06, he says of Milton, "He chose to make himself a scholar rather than a learned man. The aim of his studies was to improve faculty, not to acquire knowledge." In *Essays*, I, 289, he says, "A perfect liberal education and the formation of a good judgment or philosophical temper are identical, and it is for the sake of this greatest and noblest of human products, that an institution for the higher education employs knowledge."

¹⁷ *Memoirs*, p. 310.

¹⁸ Morley, *op. cit.*, pp. 140, 154 ff.

perfection.¹⁹ Neither to these traits nor to the "exigencies" of his struggle does Morley give sufficient consideration. Incidentally, not all of the men in his list attained to the first rank as men, thinkers, and men of letters.

After granting that Pattison's character was weakened by lack of self-confidence, and that his creative faculty was hampered by too exacting standards of self-criticism, one should consider carefully the almost insurmountable obstacles in his path. During his undergraduate years, and while teaching, he was sidetracked from critical scholarship by the Tractarian controversy and then stymied and despised by ecclesiastical reactionaries. His university had been caught in the trammels of insular prejudice caused by the reaction to the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, and he was further hindered in his studies by the prevailing dread of German naturalistic and "higher" (historical) criticism of the Bible. In his book on Milton, in which he was fusing biography and autobiography, he said:

In the writing of my *Life of Milton*, I could not but be forcibly reminded of my own experience, when I had to describe the poet, after the crash of 1660, returning to the thought of poetry and the composition of *Paradise Lost*, which he had forsaken for a noisy pamphlet brawl and the unworthy drudgery of Secretary to the Council Board.²⁰

He was referring, of course, to his defeat in the election for the Rectorship of Lincoln College and to his subsequent period of over two years of bitter disappointment and inactivity. If Milton had been discouraged by the defeat of the Puritans and the return of the Cavaliers to power, so Pattison had been discouraged by his defeat at the hands of contemptible university politicians and a manifestly inferior candidate for the Rectorship: both had been the victims of meanness, servility, time-serving, ingratitude. His hopes blasted by political disaster, Milton fell back upon the resources of his own character and concentrated his burning spirit upon an all-absorbing poetical creation; Pattison, heartbroken by the thwarting of his efforts to continue with the intellectual rebuilding of his college, fell back upon the study of literary scholarship. Both dwelt apart—Milton "like a star."

Defeat in the contest for the Rectorship was indeed a heavy blow to Pattison, one from which he was long in recovering. He and Jowett, likewise unappreciated, had earned reputations as the best tutors in the University, and the most promising students came to them. It had been a long, arduous climb. Only after repeated failures had he finally been elected Fellow of Lincoln. After passing through a period of deep introspection—"Oh, my terrors and qualms and timidities," after a period of Puseyism and a narrow escape from

¹⁹ *Memoirs*, pp. 254 and 272-73.

²⁰ *Memoirs*, p. 332.

secession to Rome, after he had proved his magnetism as a tutor and had been appointed University Examiner, after having ably managed his college for a superannuated Rector—after all this, to be defeated by the lowest kind of personal intrigue! Unable to foresee that he would eventually win to the honor of the Rectorship, he felt that it had been utterly futile to re-educate himself completely in the interests of better teaching; to devote himself to the inauguration of a more effective, more humanistic method of teaching Aristotle's *Ethics*; to sit up so many nights preparing chapel addresses that would have a direct bearing upon the problems of the students; to take students to live with him during vacations at Bowness and Inverary; to try so earnestly to instill, in an informal, intimate way, the love of literature.²¹ All of his mental forces were paralyzed by the shock of his defeat.

Recover he did, finally. After a period of diversion—fishing in his old haunts in Yorkshire and Scotland, enjoying natural scenery, traveling and studying in Germany—he was able to return to his old interests of teaching, study, and writing. After his marriage to Emilia Strong and his election to the Rectorship, he produced his *Casaubon* and *Milton*, wrote a number of critical essays, and edited Milton's *Sonnets* and Pope's *Essay on Man* and *Epistles and Satires*. Unfortunately, however, his excellent articles on religion and philosophy were either ignored or fiercely attacked.²² One of the best of them, his "Tendencies of Religious Thought in England 1688-1750," created a storm of denunciation when it appeared in *Essays and Reviews* (1860). Scientific treatment of theology was not welcome in England.²³ He was further discouraged by Leslie Stephen's anticipation of his study of eighteenth-century thought and by Lord Bernay's book on Scaliger. For a time, therefore, he considered continuation of work on these topics useless, although later, at Bunsen's suggestion, he did resume work on Scaliger, approaching his subject from a somewhat different angle. It was left in fragments at his death.

What happened to Mark Pattison was not without parallel among his contemporaries. The smaller, shallow minds were usually content to bow to orthodoxy and conform; a few superior thinkers, perhaps not wholly by reason of greater strength of character, were able to rise above their difficulties. Benjamin Jowett wrote one of the best exegetical works of the time on the Epistles of St. Paul, based largely upon the Tübingen critic, F. C. Bauer; and he followed this

²¹ Pattison was made Fellow of Lincoln College in 1840, defeated in the election for the Rectorship in 1851, and elected Rector in 1861.

²² These included essays on Huet, Scaliger (the review of Lord Bernay's book), F. A. Wolf, "The Present State of Theology in Germany," "Oxford Studies," and articles for the *Britannica* on Erasmus, Casaubon, More, Bentley, Grotius, Lipsius, and Macaulay.

²³ *Memoirs*, pp. 312-17.

with "The Interpretation of Scripture," his contribution to *Essays and Reviews*. Jowett's story is well known—how he went on assiduously with his studies, translations, and teaching, despite the fact that a combination of ecclesiastical parties prevented the increase of his endowment beyond the paltry sum of £40 a year. Rigorously prosecuted in the Vice-Chancellor's court for his heretical writings, scathingly satirized in William H. Mallock's novels, *The New Republic* and *The Veil of the Temple*, and called "arch-heretic," he, more truly than Pattison, was the man of letters denied a reading public. Connop Thirlwall, Bishop of St. David's, was one of the few men whose breadth of reading and critical acumen could be mentioned in the same breath with those of Pattison. Of essentially the same saturnine temperament and not greatly gifted with the creative impulse, Thirlwall nevertheless produced two much-needed translations—Schleiermacher's *Gospel of St. Luke* and, in collaboration with Julius Hare, Niebuhr's *Roman History*—besides his own *History of Greece*. After a few had read these and more attacked them, and after he had been cautioned against heterodoxy by Lord Melbourne, he turned from writing. Instead of sinking into inactivity, however, he devoted his life to a manful fight for liberalism in theology, and delivered some of the wisest, most statesmanlike episcopal charges on the questions of his day. Max Müller was warned to be careful what he said at Oxford and was defeated in the contest for the professorship of Sanskrit, but he found congenial minds in the Stanley party and went on with his Oriental studies. Lord Acton, the Roman Catholic historian, was well read in what Dr. Liddon thought of as "infidel books"; yet he retained both his Catholic faith and his tolerance toward Biblical critics. If he did not have any great literary impulse, he did considerable research and editorial work to the end of his life. James Anthony Froude went through a worse struggle, including poverty, than did Pattison, despite the Rector's remarks to the contrary;²⁴ yet he bore up under adversity with the fortitude of the old scop Deor. Although these men did not break under the strain and sink into relative inactivity and cynicism, as did Pattison, they were certainly forced to struggle and to divert their energies into different channels because of the religious attitudes of the times.

Pattison struggled constantly to save himself from intellectual suffocation at Oxford. There is pathos as well as irony and bitterness in the following words:

... since the year 1851, I have lived wholly for study. There can be no vanity in making this confession, for, strange to say, in a university ostensibly endowed

²⁴ Pattison said, "J. A. Froude had much shorter work with it [skepticism] than I could possibly do, not having had in early youth that profound pietistic impression which lay like lead upon my understanding for so many years of my life" (*Memoirs*, p. 215).

for the cultivation of science and letters, such a life is hardly regarded as a creditable one.²⁵

No wonder Max Müller, who considered Pattison "the best-read man at Oxford," remarked that "anywhere but at Oxford he would have grown into another Lessing."²⁶ The detailed story in the *Memoirs* is deeply moving (Morley was wrong)—a painful revelation of the heart's anguish. After having studied the Church Fathers and then reacted from Tractarianism to the German and French Biblical critics, he studied at Heidelberg under the great Swiss theologian, Rothe, but he never made a complete emotional adjustment nor wholly shed his early pietism. It was a reaction such as Jowett, Thirlwall, and Froude did not experience, for they had never been steeped in pietism in their youth. The Reverend William Tuckwell has said that Pattison's intellectual life was

broken for a time by Newman's influence which swept him into the tractarian whirlpool, arrested the growth of his understanding, diverted him from scholarship to theology; the reaction which followed Newman's flight told on him with corresponding force.²⁷

The Rector explained to his friends that he had not gone over from High Anglicanism to unbelief, but that he had expanded intellectually, throwing off successively the husks of Puritanism, Anglicanism, and Catholicism. This expansion was certainly a growth in knowledge and ideas, as he said; whether or not it led to "statelier mansions of the soul" is another matter. His growth from the earliest state of consciousness he could remember—stupidity—to an intellectual phase twenty years behind his contemporaries, and then on to critical rationalism, actually ended in a vague Theism at best. He reached, he said,

that highest development when all religions appear in their historical light, an effort of the human spirit to come to an understanding with that Unseen Power whose pressure it feels, but whose motives are a riddle.²⁸

Higher criticism of the Bible and the buffetings of fate had dissolved his religious faith, or as he put it, "defaecated" the Deity to a pure transparency. If such a faith was atheism to the High Church party, it was not essentially very different from that of the other Broad

²⁵ *Memoirs*, p. 331. In the life of Richard Bentley he found a parallel. Bentley was regarded as a man who wasted his time in the development of literary judgment and conjectural criticism instead of applying himself to the Deist controversy. "In a University [Cambridge] where the instruction of youth, or the religious controversy of the day, were the only known occupations, Bentley was an isolated phenomenon, and we can hardly wonder that he should have flagged in his literary exertions after his appointment to the mastership of Trinity" (*Britannica*, ninth ed.). Is this mere rationalization?

²⁶ F. Max Müller, *Life and Letters*, ed. by his wife (London, 1902), II, 176.

²⁷ W. Tuckwell, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

²⁸ *Memoirs*, pp. 325-28.

Churchmen—Jowett, Thirlwall, Dean Stanley, and others—except for the final agnostic phrase—"whose motives are a riddle." It was hardly a dynamic faith.²⁹

Many of Pattison's contemporaries, lacking perspective, concluded that he had given up the quest and ended at the nadir of despair—a crabbed old misanthrope with no desire to write, nothing he cared to say, and nothing to live for. There is a story pointing in that direction. When Jowett sent to him on his deathbed the message, "You have seen so much good in the world that you may be hopeful of the future," the saturnine old cynic replied from his pillow, "I have seen so much *wrong* in the world that I have *no* hope for the future."³⁰ Characteristic repartee intended to dismiss Jowett's excessive optimism. As his friend Lionel Tollemache warns us, we must not take Pattison literally at all times. Incidentally, this friend tells how he and Pattison enjoyed, even shortly before the end came, the usual delightful talks together. Let it be remembered, moreover, that even in his bitterest book, the *Memoirs*, Pattison expresses gratitude for his friendships and love of a life in many respects good. Six months before his death, he wrote:

For myself, I can say that daily converse with the poetry and literature of all times, ancient and modern, has been to me its own sufficient reward; the classics have lost for me nothing of their charm; on this very day—New Year's Eve, 1884—I can read Sophocles with greater delight than I ever could.³¹

The very last words in the book are a quotation from Goethe—

Was man in der Jugend wünsche,
Hat man im Alter die Fülle.

Finally, his memoirs dictated, he asked for first one and then another of his books, which, he said, had meant more to him than friends. With these companions lying about him on the bed and piled on the floor close by, he died peacefully, surrounded with the aroma of his "rotten apples."³² Call him a scholar, whatever else you say.

IV

In English fiction and literature in general, as well as in the real drama of intellectual and spiritual struggle of his times, Mark Pattison played an important role. For the present-day reader, the fictitious characters that adumbrate this man illustrate some of the popular attitudes of his Victorian contemporaries and, at the same

²⁹ See F. Harrison's "Socratic dialogue," *The Creed of a Layman* (New York, 1907), for criticism of Pattison's Theism.

³⁰ Tuckwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 223-24.

³¹ *Memoirs*, pp. 332-33.

³² See T. Wright, *op. cit.*, I, 88, for the death of Pattison. He often referred to his books as "rotten apples," thinking of Schiller's habit of keeping rotten apples in his study because of their beneficial scent.

time, serve to increase respect for genuine scholars of whom he was representative.

The most obvious caricature of the Rector of Lincoln was drawn by Rhoda Broughton in her novel *Belinda* (1883).⁸³ Dr. Forth, professor of Etruscan at Oxbridge, spends his life "delving and grubbing in the entrails of the Church Fathers" for literary fragments and in acquiring abstruse learning. Considered a luminary for his book on the Digamma, he corresponds with Herr Schweizer at Göttingen about a newly discovered *Fragment* of Empedocles and edits the *Fragments* of Menander. He is personally odious. Like his model, and many another unfortunate scholar, he suffers from dyspepsia and eye troubles, and his hypochondria is such that he is obsessed with the notion of bodily infirmity and lives in constant dread of catching a fatal cold. The students shun him as an eccentric old dry-as-dust. While courting Belinda Churchill, a naturally lively girl much younger than he, Forth reads Browning aloud to her. In true Pattisonian fashion, he declares that *A Grammarian's Funeral* illustrates the whole tendency of his teaching—"to show that the pursuit of knowledge is the only one that really and abundantly rewards the labor bestowed upon it."⁸⁴ Belinda, who has been suffering from *tedium vitae*, due largely to lack of acquaintance with any young men at Oxbridge, decides to try a life of pure intellect. For this reason she entertains the idea of marrying Dr. Forth, though pity for the poor unhappy man, so horribly misunderstood by his sister, decides the matter.

'He is not amiable; Heaven knows that he is not attractive,' she says to herself; 'so much the worse for him. But he is unhappy; what better claim could he have upon my sympathy.'⁸⁵

The Professor, who needs a good amanuensis and a companion for his invalid mother, impresses it upon Belinda at the outset that their relationship is to be based upon intellect alone—no love, no affection even.

How horrible the disillusionment! She finds that her hypochondriac husband wears carpet slippers habitually in the drawing room, has a passion for high teas, and lectures and scolds her whenever he finds her unoccupied or whenever she misspells words. Worst of all, when he is on research trips, he leaves her to take care of his mother; or when he is at home, he nearly freezes her out of the house in order to economize on coal, while he sits "mumping, round-

⁸³ Little is known of Miss Broughton's life (see *British Authors in the Nineteenth Century* [New York, 1932], pp. 492 and 80). Certain passages in *Belinda* suggest that this may be the "caricature of me" referred to in Pattison's *Memoirs*, p. 280.

⁸⁴ R. Broughton, *Belinda* (New York, 1883), p. 118.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 97 and 290.

backed over the fire." It was true that her former lover, Rivers, had called her an "iceberg," figuratively speaking, but this was too actual.

Miss Broughton was a hasty, careless writer, though at times she attained to a fair degree of psychological realism. Unfortunately, she cheapened her writing with sickening sentimentality, stilted diction, and melodrama of the most bathetic variety. In fact, the reader quickly concludes that the frivolous, self-deluding heroine, with her tedious effusions of self-pity and her contemptuous attitude toward the old "mummy" whom she should have known better than to marry, is quite as odious as the Professor. Belinda proves to be an unintentional burlesque of patient Griselda and long-suffering Constance in one. As to Dr. Forth, it would be difficult to find in all England a teacher so contemptuous of his pupils and a scholar with such a captious mind and "peevish pertinacity."³⁶

The first-rate novelist, George Eliot, made far better use of her model. The name of her character and the disparity of nearly thirty years between Mr. Casaubon and Dorothea were probably suggested to her during her visit with the Pattisons in 1870. We have seen that Pattison was at that time working on his study of the French scholar Casaubon. She remarks in her novel that her character's name "carried an impressiveness hardly to be measured without a precise chronology of scholarship."³⁷ It was not her purpose, however, to draw a portrait of the Rector of Lincoln.³⁸ If we compare Mr. Casaubon with the biographer of Isaac Casaubon, we shall be certain of the truth of this statement.

Mr. Casaubon was engaged in a continually broadening topic of research, for which he was ill-equipped because he knew nothing of Oriental literature and religion and could not read the German Biblical critics of his day. Pattison, on the other hand, despite his seeming omniscience, had contracted his studies to narrower and narrower limits, starting with the ambitious study of learning from the Renaissance to Niebuhr, and then restricting himself to one school of philologists in one period of history—the French philolo-

³⁶ Belinda had a large sale in both England and America, and the fact that it created no such stir as did *Robert Elsmere* (1888), *John Ward, Preacher* (1888), and *Elmer Gantry* (1927) indicates that gross caricatures of scholars were taken for realism, and that scholars were held in less esteem than were clergymen.

³⁷ *Middlemarch* (New York, 1901), I, 9.

³⁸ Mrs. Ward said Eliot "was far too good a scholar herself to have perpetrated a caricature so grossly untrue. She knew Mark Pattison's quality and could never have meant to draw the writer of some of the most fruitful and illuminating of English essays, and one of the most brilliant pieces of European biography, as the dreary and foolish pedant who overshadows *Middlemarch*" (*A Writer's Recollections*, I, 148). John Morley also protests "... there was never a more impertinent blunder than when people professed to identify the shrewdest and most widely competent critic of his day with the Mr. Casaubon of the novel, and his absurd *Key to All Mythologies*" (*Critical Miscellanies*, p. 299).

gists of the Renaissance. His excellent classical background, plus his knowledge of contemporary French and German scholarship, furnished ample equipment for his task. Mr. Casaubon had no diversions, not even fishing in the trout stream on the rectory grounds. Until late in life, Pattison was still an enthusiastic fisherman and lover of natural scenery, especially along the trout streams of Yorkshire, where he said his early experience of nature had been similar to that of Wordsworth. In addition, he was a good horseman, one of the best croquet players at Oxford, and a spectator at the boat races. Whereas Mr. Casaubon was almost a complete recluse, even after marriage, Pattison, except for the period immediately following his defeat in the election for the Rectorship, frequently entertained at dinner parties and was always interested in rising young scholars.³⁹

Among his friends were Taine, W. C. Lake, R. W. Church, Jowett, Edmund Gosse, and Walter Pater. He and Pater often chatted about books, though, much as he loved his library, his "rotten apples," sometimes, out of sheer perversity, he tabooed the subject of books entirely. Upon one occasion, when he was in such a mood, his friends Gosse and Pater found his conversation disappointing. "A frivolous demon had entered into the Rector," said Gosse; "he talked of croquet and petticoats." In view of the talk "on a dozen rare and exquisite topics" the previous day—one of his "good" days—Pater was so disappointed that he remarked to his friend on the way home, "What Pattison likes best in the world, no doubt, is romping with great girls in the gooseberry bushes."⁴⁰ Make some allowances, if you will, for Gosse's inventiveness; still, Mr. Casaubon would never be reported as having been so preoccupied.

Is it possible to conclude then, that George Eliot—a scholar herself, a remarkable judge of human character, and one who understood such people as the Hennells, G. H. Lewes, W. R. Greg, F. W. Newman, Professor Jowett, and Dr. Brabant—thought she was painting a true portrait of Mark Pattison? Certainly not. Mention of Dr. Brabant brings up another question. We know that in 1843, just before beginning her translation of Strauss's *Das Leben Jesu*, she

³⁹ R. C. Christie, a former student of his, says in *DNB*: "Pattison was by no means a recluse. For some years after his marriage, in 1861, his home was a center of all that was best in Oxford society. Under a singularly stiff and freezing manner to strangers and to those whom he disliked, he concealed a most kindly nature, full of geniality and sympathy, and a great love of congenial, and especially female society." He was a brilliant conversationalist when he cared to be, says John Morley. "There was nobody in whose company one felt so much of the ineffable comfort of being quite safe against an attack of platitude. There was nobody on whom one might so surely count in the course of an hour's talk for some stroke of irony or pungent suggestion or, at the worst, some significant, admonitory, and almost luminous manifestation of the great *ars tacendi*" (*op. cit.*, p. 200).

⁴⁰ E. Gosse, *Critical Kit-Kats* (New York, 1896), pp. 255-56, and T. Wright, *op. cit.*, 1, 252-53.

spent a few weeks visiting that learned gentleman, whom she labeled "the German Professor, Dry-as-Dust."⁴¹ But she took up her residence with him immediately after his daughter, Rufa, married and left him. It was her duty to cheer an old man in a mood of depressed spirits, and she could not have seen him at his best. Moreover, that was twenty-seven years before she began *Middlemarch*. Mr. Casaubon may be, in some measure, a caricature of the dry pedant she saw in the depressed and Strauss-bitten Dr. Brabant; but he is more definitely a reflection of the Strauss-sick George Eliot, who, during the years when she was translating Strauss's *Das Leben Jesu* and Feuerbach's *Das Wesen des Christentums*, had known the monotony and desiccative power of prolonged study and housework. This was a darker side of her nature that made a good contrast with the aspiring and self-sacrificing side so clearly reflected in Dorothea Brooke. No wonder, when asked where she got this character in *Middlemarch*, she pointed to her heart and said, "There."⁴²

In some of her other writings Eliot shows her disapproval of the petty, the egotistic and pedantic, scholar. In her essay, "Evangelical Teaching: Dr. Cumming" she attacks the preacher whose "smattering of science and learning will pass for profound instruction," and whose specious arguments, devoid of any support from historical criticism of the Bible, are directed against those whom he considers to be wilfully malicious infidels. Her ridicule of trivial and useless research like that of Mr. Casaubon—though certainly not Pattison—is nowhere more vigorously expressed than in her portrait of Proteus Merman, with his controversy over the Magicodumbras and the Zuzomotsis.⁴³

Eliot also understood quite as well what genuine scholarship was. She read Emerson with delight and met him in July, 1848. "I have seen Emerson," she wrote to her friend Sarah Hennell, "the first *man* I have ever seen."⁴⁴ Again, in March, 1870, about two months before visiting the Pattisons, she was reading his latest book, *Society and Solitude*. Very likely she believed with him that the scholar should be not a thinker or pedant, but "man thinking." Not that she considered the life of thought useless. In July, after leaving the Pattisons, she wrote to another friend, lamenting the lack of intellectual interests among women, "They have never contemplated

⁴¹ Dr. Brabant was a retired physician, who, at Coleridge's suggestion, had studied theology in Germany and had become acquainted with Strauss. Crabb Robinson's comment upon him runs as follows: "A slight man, with a scholar-like gentlemanly appearance, and talks well" (*Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson*, ed. Thomas Sadler [New York, 1877], II, 354).

⁴² B. C. Williams, *George Eliot* (New York, 1931), p. 255.

⁴³ *Miscellaneous Essays* (New York, 1901), pp. 105, 117, and 280 ff.

⁴⁴ J. W. Cross, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

an independent delight in ideas as an experience."⁴⁵ How Pattisonian! In sympathy with the scholar in the true sense—that of “man thinking”—she was undoubtedly satirizing in Mr. Casaubon the less discerning, less human scholar whom she must have seen often, whom she thought Dr. Brabant to be, and whom she had sometimes feared she was becoming. Even in the Rector, as well as in G. H. Lewes, she might have seen those same dangerous tendencies which became hideous in smaller men. The most reasonable conclusion seems to be that George Eliot, essentially a moralist, in the better sense, created a character to contrast with her Dorothea. Real scholars know each other for what they are. How better could she evince her appreciation of the genuine scholar like Pattison than by warning her readers against the spurious? In Emerson, in George Henry Lewes, in Mark Pattison, she had found men thinking.

Still another Pattisonian character lives, or breathes his last, in W. H. Mallock's *The New Republic* (1876). In this symposium, written in somewhat the manner of T. L. Peacock's crotchety novels and G. Lowes Dickinson's *A Modern Symposium*, a group of writers, society leaders, educators, scientists, and divines plan a model society. Mallock's characters are obviously T. H. Huxley, Matthew Arnold, Pater, Ruskin, Jowett, the Pattisons, and others, under very thin disguises. Uncle Lawrence, who dies in the first chapter, is an ever-present influence upon his nephew, Otto, who quotes from his writings frequently. Otto, the host, reads to his guests from his Uncle's treatise entitled *A System of Ethics, Adapted from Aristotle*, a passage on the golden mean, or meanness:

Moral virtue, then, is a meanness lying between two vices, its extremes, the one vice being that of excess, the other that of defect. Thus it is possible for a habit of mind to be so unrestrained and vehement, that the acts it produces at once betray their motives and obtrude them on the observer; it is possible for it, also, on the other hand, to be so weak and nerveless as never to produce any acts at all. For instance, the habit of thought in a clergyman may be so strong and unrestrained as to lead him to speak his whole conclusions out, and so get deprived of his living; or on the other hand it may be so weak and undeveloped, that he comes to no conclusions at all, and so dies in a curacy; the meanness between these two extremes being what is called vagueness, or the absence of any defined opinions, which is a great merit, and leads, in the Established Church, to high preferment.⁴⁶

Both Jowett and Pattison restrained their vehemence sufficiently to retain their teaching positions, although the skeptical tone of their writings impaired their reputations among the orthodox clergy. Both refused to be vague enough to merit preferment.

Otto's uncle had developed during his lifetime a deep antipathy toward Christianity and the clergy. A proud old lettered voluptuary,

⁴⁵ J. W. Cross, *op. cit.*, p. 550.

⁴⁶ *The New Republic* (New York, 1906), p. 166.

he turned his back upon the barbarous life of his times and retired to his splendid pseudo-classical villa—which, like Dr. Forth's early-English villa, may have been patterned after Pattison's retreat, The Firs—where he could live with the magnificence of Roman nobility under the Empire. In his thoughts and his conversation he often suggests the Rector.

Two things only during his last years never palled upon him: one was saying a sharp thing neatly; the other, detecting some new weakness in human nature. In this he seemed really to revel. On the littlenesses and the pretenses of men, especially when they turned out failures, he seemed to look with a passionate contemptuous fondness, like a wicked prince on a peasant girl.⁴⁷

Extreme yet unmistakable satire. The last hours of this old voluptuary are pictured in the same vein (remember that this scene in *The New Republic* was written some years before Pattison's death). On his deathbed he lay calmly resigned, with a pretty and somewhat educated housemaid, whom he called Phyllis, reading aloud to him the chapters on Christianity in Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. With the greatest courtesy he asked a solicitous clergyman to cease trying to assist a man who had found his own peace,

saying wistfully that he knew he had not long to live, and that his one wish was that he could open his veins in a bath, and so fade gently into death; 'and then,' he added, 'my soul, if I have one, might perhaps be with Petronius, and with Seneca. And yet sleep would, I think, be better than even their company.'⁴⁸

Surely none of Pattison's contemporaries so nearly resembles Uncle Lawrence as Pattison himself, who once defined orthodoxy as "stoicism plus a legend."⁴⁹ Read Uncle Lawrence's sardonic confession of his belief in the value of Christianity. Wit, humor, love, pleasures of all kinds, he says, have thriven because of the opposition, the negations, the persecutions of

that much maligned thing, Christianity, and that marvelous system of moral laws and restraints which, although accredited through imposture, elaborated by barbarism, and received by credulity, has entirely changed the whole complexion of life.⁵⁰

Mallock, although he evidently had considerable respect for scholarship of the proper (orthodox) sort, wrote *The New Republic* to ridicule various kinds of religious thinking, and, in Uncle Lawrence, struck at the error of turning from social life to a self-indulgent enjoyment of books and intellectual cynicism.

⁴⁷ *The New Republic*, p. 148.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4. In his *Memoirs of Life and Literature* (1920), W. H. Mallock identifies many of the characters in his book, though he does not identify Uncle Lawrence. A. B. Adams says, in *The Novels of W. H. Mallock* (Augusta, Maine, 1934), that Lawrence's widow, Lady Grace, is Mrs. Pattison (pp. 517-18).

⁴⁹ L. Tollemache, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

⁵⁰ *The New Republic*, p. 242.

Mrs. Humphry Ward, like Mallock and George Eliot, also understood the genuine man of learning and scholar. She admits that Squire Westover in her *Robert Elsmere* is, to some extent, based upon her friend the Lincoln College professor.⁵¹ Her purpose was equally dramatic but less definitely moral than was George Eliot's. It was not so much to caricature the spurious scholar as to present a sympathetic study of a type of intellectual who was pathetically isolated and morally indifferent, and yet too human to be labeled either as all egotist or all cynic. Her contrast of this man of almost sheer intellect with the earnestly moral but intellectually immature Robert Elsmere is one of the remarkable achievements of Victorian literature, especially in that she draws the contrast without the slightest hint of ethical or religious judgments in favor of either the one or the other. Skillfully she portrays a man of scholarship too fully absorbed in intellectual pursuits, thus going half way toward meeting the average reader's stereotyped notion of the scholarly scholar and forestalling the criticism of the prejudiced by making her character physically repulsive, morally indifferent, and intellectually cynical. Yet, in spite of himself, the orthodox reader must have sensed Squire Westover's admirable devotion to truth, especially in contrast with Elsmere's earlier intellectual laziness and the shallowness of the minor clerical characters.

The Squire's library, with its rare and beautiful editions, its Renaissance and eighteenth-century writers, its volumes of writings by the Church Fathers and Tractarians, and its German and French works of Biblical criticism, is the library of the Rector of Lincoln. On one side, says the author, are his German books, gathered while studying at Heidelberg and Berlin. These include volumes inscribed by Schelling, von Humboldt, and Niebuhr; early editions of *Leben Jesu*, with corrections in Strauss's hand; and some of the works of F. C. Bauer, Ewald, and other members of the Tübingen school. On the other side are books read in his Tractarian phase, including a volume of St. Basil, bearing on the title page "Given to me by Newman at Oxford, 1845." Here, in fact, is "a chart of his own [and Pattison's] intellectual history."⁵²

⁵¹ In physical traits and several personal characteristics, notably "the two main facts of great learning and a general impatience of fools," she says, Squire Westover resembles closely the Rector, "one of the friends of my youth to whom I have most cause to be grateful" (*A Writer's Recollections*, I, 148, and Introduction to Westmoreland edition of *Robert Elsmere*). We must not suppose, she warns us, that the prototype was so weak as to be deceived by a grasping land agent or so tetchy and inhuman a person as the Squire, who shows no sympathy with his suffering tenants and turns with loathing from children. In fact, she is so determined to disabuse the reader's mind of the notion that here was a faithful portrait that she minimizes the influence of Pattison upon her characterization. This we must allow for.

⁵² *Robert Elsmere* (New York, 1911), I, 347-54.

The Squire lends his books to Robert and guides him in his studies, talking before the study fire just as Professor Pattison had done with Mary Arnold and other enthusiastic students. Yet his influence upon Robert, although intended to lead him by the light of truth, proves to be as baneful, in some respects, as that of the Hennells and Strauss had been upon George Eliot, and that of the Rector and his favorite critical authors upon Mary Arnold. Mrs. Ward is eminently fair. Impartially she contrasts Elsmere with the Squire and also Elsmere with the mystical and beautiful Catherine, whom he marries.⁵³ Within Elsmere's character we find the critical and the mystical, the intellectual and the emotional, as represented externally by Catherine and the Squire, in continual conflict. These contrasts and complexities give to the characters in *Robert Elsmere* more subtleties and facets than the main characters in *Middlemarch* exhibit, although, because of its narrower scope, its slighter plot, its less varied characterizations, and its heavier burden of discussion, the book is less of an artistic achievement as a whole than is George Eliot's.

Here in *Robert Elsmere* we find the Biblical scholar, of whom Pattison is so representative, presented full length. With his quotations from Renan and Ranke and Scaliger—most of all Scaliger; with his antipathy for unthinking clergymen and his disagreement with German idealists like Mr. Grey (really T. H. Green in many traits); with his interest in historical criticism and his unfinished *History of Testimony* (Pattison's Scaliger was left in fragments); and also in his pathetic end (though Mrs. Ward makes it melodramatic)—in all of these respects, we find the Rector of Lincoln shadowed forth. Westover differs from his model principally in that he is skeptical to the core, his emotions are almost completely atrophied, and his intellect pries like a ferret into sacred writings. He has long ago shed Newmanism completely and all other religious feelings he has known. There is no longer any conflict within him as there always was within the Rector. As a whole the novel epitomizes the disastrous consequences of too much good will, or sometimes just sentimentality, unsupported by intellectual development, on the one hand, and of too much cold intellect without human sympathy on the other. It was the great conflict of the times; and Mrs. Ward, by nature and by life experience sympathetic with both, depicts the struggle in a spirit of "tragic pity."⁵⁴

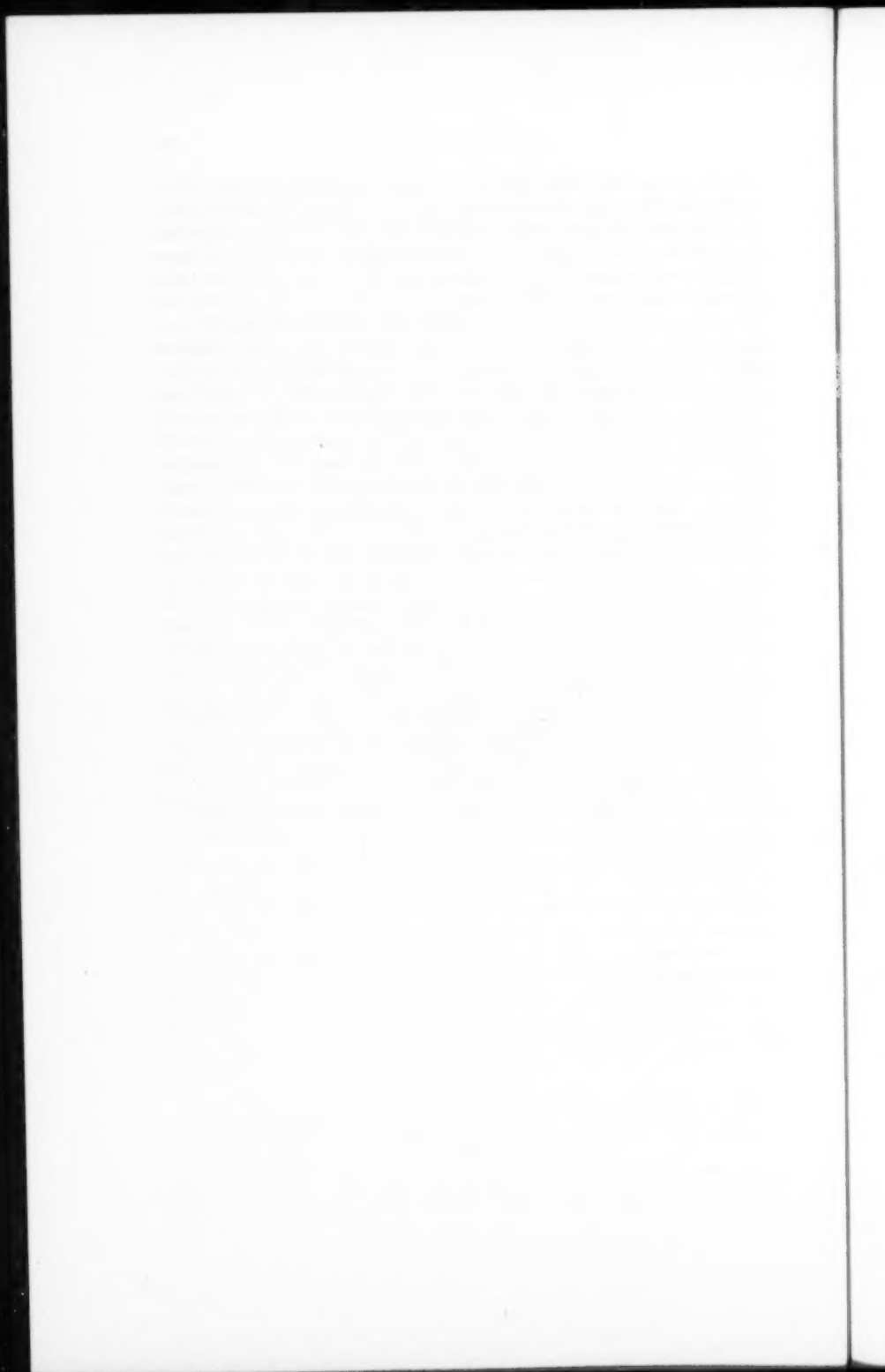
⁵³ T. H. Huxley wrote to Mrs. Ward that he had a great deal of sympathy with the Squire, though he thought she was very hard on him; and he said that he thought Catherine the gem of the book. (L. Huxley, *Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley* [New York, 1900], II, 206).

⁵⁴ Huxley wrote, "But as an observer of the human ant-hill—quite impartial by this time—I think your picture of one of the deeper aspects of our troubled times admirable" (*ibid.*, II, 206).

It has been said that Pattison, unlike Squire Westover, never wholly lost his religious emotions and sympathy with people, that the inner struggle never ceased. This is the key to an understanding of his character and also of his cynical remarks, including the bitter reply he sent to Jowett from his deathbed. He was cynical, it is true, but his cynicism was really a mask that could not always hide his spiritual distress. All his life he thought as a philosopher but felt as a theologian and pastor, for he could not shed or forget his religious predilections. His friend Tollemache has explained this better than anyone else. He says that Pattison's was not the kind of mind that could be content with a doubt-dispelling optimism of the Jowett and Browning sort. His critical faculty and his memory of shattered ideals and disappointments compelled him to dim, with the smoked lens of cynicism, the glaring difference between his emotional longings and his intellectual perception of conflicting reality, between the high-sounding expression of his ideals and the captious blows of actual life. Sarcasm and invective and paradox he often resorted to as a means of effecting a sober view that neither dazzled nor threw one into the dark of despair. He once pointed to a passage in G. H. Lewes' *Life of Goethe* which he thought expressed clearly his own mental conflict and weakness. It is often true of highly imaginative men, says Lewes, that creative activity is hampered by "a fluctuation of motives keeping the volition in abeyance."⁵⁵ How true this was of Coleridge, of John Sterling, of Clough, and of J. A. Symonds! It was eminently true also of Mark Pattison, the Victorian scholar who developed *judicium* and encouraged young scholars to seek the truth, but who never achieved greatness of the kind that could help his age to resolve its religious perplexities and reconstruct its faith.

Muhlenberg College

⁵⁵ L. Tollemache, *op. cit.*, p. 254.



WHAT FOOLS THESE MORTALS BE!
HOUSMAN'S POETRY AND THE LYRICS
OF SHAKESPEARE

By TOM BURNS HABER

I

Readers of A. E. Housman were not surprised to learn through his brother Laurence that the poet freely admitted the influence of Shakespeare's songs in his poetry.¹ Many similarities in theme and language form a strong link between the lyrical productions of the two poets. When Housman's *Last Poems* appeared in 1922, I with others imagined that the title of the concluding poem of that volume—"Fancy's Knell"—was inscribed as a quiet acknowledgment to the stimulus of Shakespeare's songs in the two volumes which Housman intended to be his poetical canon. More explicitly he stated his admiration for the lyrics of Shakespeare in his lecture on "The Name and Nature of Poetry,"² in which he quoted the song beginning "Take, O take those lips away," commenting, "That is nonsense; but it is ravishing poetry," and going on to say, "When Shakespeare fills such poetry with thought, and thought which is worthy of it, as in *Fear no more the heat o' the sun* or *O Mistress mine, where art thou* [sic] *roaming?* those songs, the very summits of lyrical achievement, are indeed greater and more moving poems."

Percy Withers in his little book of recollections³ has a brief note relating how upon one occasion the poet himself described his literary heritage: "When I asked him whether he had been influenced by any of the other poets, he promptly replied: Yes, he had taken as models the *Border Ballads*, Shakespeare's *Songs*, and Heine.⁴ He had carefully—I inferred from his statement, almost meticulously—investigated all three sources, though equally he had been careful to avoid imitation: they had been no more, he believed, than fortunate influences."

We might wonder what nourishment Housman's sombre genius could have found in Shakespeare's songs if we thought only of some of the most popular ones, for example, "Who is Sylvia?" and "Hark, hark the lark." Housman paid his tribute to these and others like them

¹ Laurence Housman, *My Brother, A. E. Housman* (New York, Scribner's, 1938), pp. 71-72.

² Published by Macmillan, New York, 1933. See pages 39-40.

³ *A Buried Life* (London, Cape, 1940), pp. 66-67.

⁴ See my articles, "The Influence of the Ballads in Housman's Poetry," *Studies in Philology*, XXXIX (January, 1942), 118-29; "Heine and Housman," *JEGP*, XLIII (July, 1944), 326-32.

by describing them as ravishing nonsense. It is to be imagined that the "greater and more moving poems" were what he lingered over and absorbed: we mean, besides the two mentioned in "The Name and Nature of Poetry," such lyrics as "Blow, blow, thou winter wind," "Come away, come away, death," "Pardon, goddess of the night," "Full fathom five," and "No more, thou thunder-master." We may even imagine him smiling with wry appreciation at Apemantus' currish grace in *Timon of Athens* (I, ii):

Immortal gods, I crave no pelf;
I pray for no man but myself:
Grant I may never prove so fond,
To trust man on his oath or bond;
Or a harlot for her weeping;
Or a dog that seems a-sleeping;
Or a keeper with my freedom;
Or my friends, if I should need 'em.
Amen. So fall to't:
Rich men sin, and I eat root.

This nadir of bitterness Housman could descend to in such lines as

His folly hath not fellow
Beneath the blue of day
That gives to man or woman
His heart and soul away (ASL, XIV)⁵

and in these lately published verses:

O grant me the ease that is granted so free,
The birthright of multitudes, give it to me,
That relish their victuals and rest on their bed
With flint in the bosom and guts in the head (AP, XVII).

It is perhaps a little unfair to both poets—particularly to Shakespeare—to begin a comparison with these quotations; but the slight over-emphasis may not be amiss in restating the fact that many of the songs in Shakespeare's plays have a strong misanthropic note. On the whole, they give us more of Feste than of Ariel.⁶ Housman enjoyed the songs as something more than pretty incidentals in the plays. He must have relished the strong dramatic temper of Shakespeare's lyrics, their Elizabethan gusto, their unflinching fidelity to the action of

⁵ The following symbols have been used to refer to the four parts of Housman's collected poems: ASL, *A Shropshire Lad*; LP, *Last Poems*; MP, *More Poems*; AP, *Additional Poems*. For the permission to quote from Housman's poetry, the author makes grateful acknowledgement to the following: to Henry Holt & Co. (*A Shropshire Lad*, *Last Poems*); to the Leland Hayward Agency (*More Poems*); and to Charles Scribner's Sons (*Additional Poems*).

⁶ Of the somewhat restricted list which Richmond Noble chooses to discuss in his *Shakespeare's Use of Song* (Oxford, 1923), I have made the following tabulation: 11 melancholy; 8 partly so; 14 merry; 6 uncharacterized. Noble's collection does not include the songs from *Macbeth* and *King Lear*.

their contexts. He may well have anticipated modern scholarship in observing how frequently a single brief lyric accomplished its miracle of perfectly enfolding all the comedy or tragedy of a crowded scene.

II

It is not hard to believe that Housman's sympathy for "all ill-treated fellows" found congenial themes in many of Shakespeare's lyrics expressing, often with typical sixteenth-century excess, the feelings of various unfortunate characters in the action of the dramas. Examples besides Apemantus' prayer spring to mind: Ophelia's ballad snatches, the utterances of the Fool in *Lear*, some of the songs of Amiens, the beautiful lament in *Measure for Measure*, "Take, O take those lips away," and, above all, the dirge-dialog from *Cymbeline*. How many of the darker traits of these lyrics and their surroundings may have entered into Housman's poetic imagination, no one can say; but the same are there: suicide for love, the ill conscience, innocence betrayed, the longing of age for its youth, the lament for the irrevocable dead. Seventeen of Housman's lyrics are devoted to the theme of the rejected lover, ending in despair or suicide.⁷ The "lover sick to death" of *Love's Labour's Lost* (IV, iii) could meet with many of his kind in Housman's poems.

As often as victims of unhappy love, Housman's unfortunates are victims of an unjust providence. In their behalf he makes his appeal to the ruler of the universe as the family of Posthumus besought Jupiter's mercy on their son and brother. The opening lines of the poem in *Cymbeline* (V, iv) announce a theme which the author of *A Shropshire Lad* must long have pondered:

No more, thou thunder-master, show
Thy spite on mortal flies.

As the mother of Posthumus says of her son that he "Came crying 'mongst his foes," so Housman in a birthday poem (*More Poems*, XXV) says of himself that he "came crying upon earth." The appeal for Posthumus continues by describing his virtues and concludes with this defiance:

Peep through thy marble mansion; help!
Or we poor ghosts will cry
To the shining synod of the rest
Against thy deity.

Help, Jupiter! or we appeal,
And from thy justice fly.

But the prayer is in vain, because the petitioners do not believe in the justice to which they appeal. If Jupiter had been just, Posthumus

⁷ ASL, VI, XI, XIII, XV, XVI, XXXIII, LIII, LVII; LP, XVI; MP, XII, XXIII, XXIV, XXX, XXXI; AP, VII, XX.

would not be in need of intercession. His virtues have not procured him divine favor in the past; they will avail him nothing now. Of him it may be said, as it was later to be said of Torquatus:

Not thy long lineage nor thy golden tongue,
No, nor thy righteousness, shall friend thee more (MP, V).

The same note of rebellion against an unjust fate is struck many times in Housman's poetry; most violently in these lines:

It is in truth iniquity on high
To cheat our sentenced souls of aught they crave,
And mar the merriment as you and I
Fare on our long fool's-errand to the grave (LP, IX).

Again it is heard with the same burden of hopelessness that Shakespeare's dramatic lyric expresses:

If truth in hearts that perish
Could move the powers on high,
I think the love I bear you
Should make you not to die.

This long and sure-set liking,
This boundless will to please,
—Oh, you should live for ever
If there were help in these (ASL, XXXIII).⁸

As some recompense for the rigors of an unjust providence, Housman offers the pleasures of the present hour: the delights of youthful love, of morning and springtime. These treasures are few and brief; therefore the wise man will seize them before they fade. The counsel of Feste we know went straight to Housman's heart:

What is love? 'tis not hereafter;
Present mirth hath present laughter;
What's to come is still unsure:
In delay there lies no plenty;
Then come kiss me, sweet and twenty,
Youth's a stuff will not endure (*Twelfth Night*, II, iii).

"Breath's a ware that will not keep" (ASL, IV) is the Shropshire way of putting it. Housman found the same admonition in the song of the two Pages in *As You Like It* (V, iii), beginning "It was a lover and his lass." These are the last two stanzas (omitting the refrains):

This carol they began that hour,
How that life was but a flower.

And therefore take the present time,
For love is crown'd with the prime.

⁸ For other examples of Housman's protest against "man's bedevilment and God's" see ASL, XLVIII; LP, XII; MP, XII; AP, XII.

The last word in the preceding quotation will serve as a reminder that the more closely Housman imitates the theme of a Shakespearean lyric, the more likely he is to use some of Shakespeare's language. This fact will be illustrated later in this article when language parallels will be more carefully drawn. Here it is sufficient to compare the use of "prime" in these two passages from poems on the *carpe diem* theme:⁹

Say, lad, have you things to do?
Quick then, while your day's at prime (ASL, XXIV).

The swift hour and t'ie brief prime of the year
Say to the soul, *Thou wast not born for aye* (MP, V).

Looking again at the song from *As You Like It*,

The carol they began that hour
How that life was but a flower,

we may find our recollection turning to another of Housman's poems similar in theme and situation and possibly linked to Shakespeare's lyric by the use of the word "flower" in stanza two, which follows:

Ah, spring was sent for lass and lad,
'Tis now the blood runs gold,
And man and maid had best be glad
Before the world is old.
What flowers to-day may flower to-morrow,
But never as good as new . . . (ASL, V).

If the present hour offers no reward worth pursuing, Housman counsels the refuge offered by stoicism. This implies a renunciation of society, scorn of love, absorption in the contemplation of the ills of the universe, and reconciliation with the idea of death. These points of view have generally been accepted as lying at the heart and center of Housman's poetry, and he did not deny their sovereignty upon his creative imagination. He might have chosen Amiens' refrain "Most friendship is feigning, most loving mere folly" as a group-title for his most characteristic lyrics. "A great while ago the world began," sings Feste in the Epilog of *Twelfth Night*; Housman's antiphonal is "Ay, look: high heaven and earth ail from the prime foundation" (ASL, XLVIII).¹⁰

⁹ Other poems on the same theme are ASL, XXXII, LVII; MP, IV, XXII.

¹⁰ These two lyrics read together are mutual commentaries. This comparison is further illuminated by the description of Shakespeare's poem quoted in Noble's *Shakespeare's Use of Song* (p. 86). This listing of the sentiments in Feste's Epilog reads like a tabulation of the principal themes of Housman's poetry: "Feste is left alone upon the stage. Then he sings a song which conveys to us his feelings of the world's impartiality; all things proceed according to law; nobody is humored; people must abide the consequences of their actions, 'for the rain it raineth every day.' A little boy may have his toy; but

The surly petition of Apemantus, the dry wisdom of the Fool in *Lear*, the mumbled catches of the grave-digger in *Hamlet*, even Timon's bitter outcry in his epitaph—all have their analogs in Housman's verse. Obvious parallels will start to the mind of any reader familiar with the poetry, and quotation therefore is not necessary to enforce the point. Let us only pause a moment before the epitaph of Timon, even though forewarned:

Here lies a wretched corse, of wretched soul bereft.
Seek not my name: a plague consume you wicked caitiffs left!

Here lie I, Timon; who, alive, all living men did hate;
Pass by and curse thy fill, but pass and stay not here thy gait.
(*Timon of Athens*, V, iv).

As if rebuking the anger and passion of this appeal from the dust, Housman's "An Epitaph" (AP, XII) memorializes the idea of release from life's ills and places their burden not on man but on his maker:

Stay, if you list, O passer by the way;
Yet night approaches; better not to stay.
I never sigh, nor flush, nor knit the brow,
Nor grieve to think how ill God made me, now.
Here, with one balm for many fevers found,
Whole of an ancient evil, I sleep sound.

In this connection it is perhaps worthy of remark that at least nine other of Shakespeare's lyrics—among these some of his best—may be called epitaphs or dirges.¹¹ About one in five of Housman's poems may be called commemorative; twenty of the forty-one lyrics of *Last Poems* are in this vein.

Housman's "Epithalamium" (LP, XXIV) may be fairly called a rather uncharacteristic poem. Its lightsome, happy note sets it apart from the main concerns of the poet. Although it definitely is an occasional poem and as such drew from its occasion sufficient inspiration, a part of its charm may derive from the marriage-songs of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Let us set side by side the last strophe of Housman's poem and the charm-recitative of Oberon in the last scene of the play:

a man must guard against knavery and thieving; marriage itself cannot be sweetened by swaggering; whoso drinks with 'tossspots' will get a 'drunken head'; it is a very old world and began so long ago that no change in its habits can be looked for."

¹¹ "Done to death" (*Much Ado about Nothing*, V, iii); "The fairest, sweetest, and best lies here" (*Pericles*, IV, iv); "Come away, come away, death" (*Twelfth Night*, II, iv); "Pardon, goddess of the night" (*Much Ado about Nothing*, V, iii); "They bore him barefaced on the bier" (*Hamlet*, IV, v); "And will he not come again?" (*Hamlet*, IV, v); "Fear no more the heat o' the sun" (*Cymbeline*, IV, ii); "Full fathom five thy father lies" (*Tempest*, I, ii); "The poor soul sat sighing" (*Othello*, IV, iii).

Now, to smother noise and light,
Is stolen abroad the wildering night,
And the blotting shades confuse
Path and meadow full of dews;
And the high heavens, that all control,
Turn in silence round the pole.
Catch the starry beams they shed
Prospering the marriage bed,
And breed the land that reared your
prime
Sons to stay the rot of time.
All is quiet, no alarms;
Nothing fear of nightly harms.
Safe you sleep on guarded ground,
And in silent circle round
The thoughts of friends keep watch
and ward,
Harnessed angels, hand on sword.

Now, until the break of day,
Through this house each fairy stray.
To the best bride-bed will we,
Which by us shall blessed be;
And the issue there create
Ever shall be fortunate,
So shall all the couples three
Ever true in loving be;
And the blots of Nature's hand
Shall not in their issue stand;
Never mole, hare-lip, nor scar,
Nor mark prodigious, such as are
Despised in nativity,
Shall upon their children be.
With this field-dew consecrate,
Every fairy take his gait;
And each several chamber bless,
Through this palace, with sweet peace;
And the owner of it blest
Ever shall in safety rest.

As well as similarities of content, we find in these two passages certain identities in form: the couplet rhyme, the strong initial syllable in most of the lines, and the four-accent norm. Hearing the two quotations read consecutively, an unassisted ear could hardly be expected to perceive their diverse authorship, or to tell where the first concludes, their body and spirit respond so naturally from one passage to the other.

III

The preceding section has been concerned mainly with tracing parallels in theme and setting, although some similarities in language were pointed out as they came up in passages quoted. In discussing Shakespearian echoes in Housman, let it be agreed that the language of Shakespeare has been so diffused through English literature since the end of the sixteenth century that it is impossible to say with certainty that any given poem that seems to contain echoes of Shakespeare's lines really owes them to him. It is true that a liberal critic might regard such echoes as none the less evidence of Shakespearian influence, even though they came paraphrased or at second hand; but I am concerned here with identifying in Housman verbal similarities with Shakespeare's lyrics which would be likely to occur only if the later poet wrote this or that line with a specific passage of Shakespeare in his mind.

For example, in the first strophe of lyric XLI of *A Shropshire Lad* there is a kind of antiphony of the seasons, concluding with a description of springtime. Could Housman—could any modern poet—sit down to write such a poem without finding the two songs from *Love's Labour's Lost* straying through his mind? The first, the "Cuckoo Song," begins thus:

When daisies pied, and violets blue,
 And lady-smocks all silver white;
 And cuckoo-buds of yellow hue
 Do paint the meadows with delight . . . (V, ii).¹²

Let us pause upon the lady-smocks, the cuckoo-buds, and line 16 of Housman's poem, which is

Lady-smocks a-bleaching lay.

The word "bleach" is not a common word with Housman; he has but one other use of it. How did it come into his mind and his poem? The answer may be found in the second stanza of the "Cuckoo Song," where we read

And maidens bleach their summer smocks.

It is Housman's use of the words "bleach" and "smocks" in the same line that almost irresistibly takes us to Shakespeare's poem. Here the use of the word "smocks" is probably a bit of characteristic punning. It may be this color of the language that made the words meet in Housman's mind. Everyone can attest to the fact that faded recollections of things read are often kept alive by trivia of this kind. I would venture to suggest here that if Housman had identified this particular gleam of half-extinguished thought, the faint absurdity of the double meaning of "smocks" (not appropriate in his poem) would have induced him to avoid repeating the old pun by using the word "bleach" with it.

The alliterations "lass and lad" and "lover and his lass" were worn smooth long before Shakespeare increased their circulation in such new mintings as "It was a lover and his lass" (*As You Like It*, V, iii) and "Buy, lads, or else your lasses cry" (*Winter's Tale*, IV, iii). The word "lad" is very common in Housman; he uses it 94 times as against three times for the word "boy."¹³ "Ah, spring was sent for lass and lad" (ASL, V), "A country lover and his lass" (ASL, XXVI), "The lover and his lass" (LP, VII)—all have a familiar chime. So does "Of lovers' meeting" (MP, VI), which carries us back again to Feste's song in *Twelfth Night* (II, iii).

¹² It is not known what flowers Shakespeare had in mind. Tucker Brooke's glossary to his edition of the songs (New York, Morrow, 1929) calls the cuckoo-buds "unidentified flowers." "Lady-smocks" is another name for "cuckoo-flowers"; why could not cuckoo-buds be the buds of cuckoo-flowers? This latter flower Housman names in the ninth lyric of *More Poems*. It may be another Shakespearian borrowing. Though somewhat of an authority on trees and shrubs, Housman was indifferent to flowers in nature. See Withers, *A Buried Life*, p. 27.

¹³ This preference for "lad" cannot be said to come from or with the title of his first volume, in which it is most commonly used; the name *A Shropshire Lad* was proposed by his friend A. W. Pollard, who read the manuscripts of the poems before publication. See *Alfred Edward Housman* (New York, Holt, 1937), p. 43.

But it is when we come to "What golden lads are low" (LP, II) and "golden friends I had" (ASL, LIV) that we perceive certainly an echo of Shakespearian phrasing, an echo from the lyric which Housman commended so warmly in his Leslie Stephen Lecture, the Dirge from *Cymbeline* (IV, ii). Shakespeare's "golden lads and girls" may also have gone into the making of "that heart of gold" (MP, XLII) and "hearts of gold" (ASL, XXXVII). Definitely we can see the carry-over of Shakespeare's lyric in

Fear the heat o' the sun no more,
Nor the snowing winter wild (ASL, XLIII).

The two lines are practically a quotation of the opening lines of the Dirge:

Fear no more the heat o' the sun,
Nor the furious winter's rages.

Other lines from the same lyric may have left their imprint on Housman's poetry. For example, "Home art gone and ta'en thy wages" is certainly called to mind when we find in Housman the use of the word "home" in such lines as these:

And early 'tis for turning home (LP, I)
Will lead one home to rest (ASL, VII)
... pass hence and home (ASL, XLIV)
And then dost call them home (MP, XLVII).

In these quotations, it is understood, the meaning of "home" is the same as in the Dirge: the eternal resting-place.

The first word of "Dust's your wages, son of sorrow" (ASL, XLIV) takes us again to the concluding lines of the first three stanzas of the Dirge, which are too well known to require quoting. The same significant word appears rather frequently in Housman's poetry:

Lie down in the bed of dust (ASL, XLIII)
But men may come to worse than dust (ASL, XLIV)
... returning
To dust and night (MP, XL).

Finally it may be said that the opening lines of the twenty-ninth lyric of *Last Poems*, which is reminiscent of the feeling of the Dirge, may contain verbal echoes from the opening lines of the third stanza of Shakespeare's poem, which are:

Fear no more the lightning-flash,
Nor the all-dreaded thunder-stone.

Thus Housman writes:

Wake not for the world-heard thunder
Nor the chime that earthquakes toll.

Housman, as we have seen, made no secret of his debt to Shakespeare's songs, and indeed it is not hard to find suggestive parallel passages in their lyrical poetry. It is much harder to stop finding them. And merely finding them is not enough. The value of such discovery is the light it casts on the working imagination of an artist, showing how his alkahest has transformed to his own purposes the materials which various sources have contributed. In this transformation there will be some materials which tend to resist solution and retain their own identity. These will be the most perfect and the purest ingredients of the poet's thought; and it is not, therefore, surprising that in many of Housman's most beautiful lyrics the golden language of Shakespeare was precipitated in some abundance and with a minimum of change.

Ohio State University

MARK TWAIN'S GERMAN PROVENIENCE

By EDGAR H. HEMMINGHAUS

Within recent years the assumption that Mark Twain was "un-literary" has been subjected to more or less exacting scrutiny. Critics here and abroad have analyzed the diversity of his materials and have presented evidence sufficiently impressive to warrant the conclusion that in spite of the continual minimizations of his own learning Mark Twain did possess a literary provenience. Minnie M. Brashear in her *Mark Twain, Son of Missouri*¹ and Friedrich Schönmemann in his *Mark Twain als literarische Persönlichkeit*² have called attention to his indebtedness to American and English writers. No one, however, to this writer's knowledge has adequately investigated the contribution of German thinkers and literary men to Mark Twain's personal cultural background.

It is not intended here to trace the influence of German writers upon Mark Twain. That is not within the province of this study. Our purpose is rather to examine more closely the record and extent of his German reading and acquaintanceship with German writers, and to ascertain, as far as the scattered comments permit, his own impressions and opinions of them. As a preliminary step to a closer examination of his German provenience, it may be well, however, to direct our attention first to a consideration of his interest in the German language itself.

* * *

Mark Twain came into contact with Germans at a very early age. Many of the enterprising German immigrants—artisans, tradesmen, farmers, highly trained professional men—who arrived in this country between 1815 and 1860 settled in Missouri and the neighboring territory,³ and some of these found their way to Hannibal, the village in which Mark Twain spent perhaps the most formative years of his life. Like German settlers in other parts of the country, they took a pardonable pride in their fatherland and tried to preserve their cultural heritage by keeping alive their language, music, literature, and their entire *Lebensanschauung*. One of his youthful playmates in

¹ University of North Carolina Press, 1934.

² *Jenaer germanistische Forschungen*, No. 8 (Jena: Verlag der Frommannschen Buchhandlung, 1925).

³ Cf. Carl Wittke, *German-Americans and the World War* (Columbus, 1936), p. 3 f. For an interesting account of the German settlers in Missouri, see John A. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German-America* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1940), pp. 109-36.

Hannibal was "Dutchy," a German lad "who did not know enough to come out of the rain, but . . . was exasperatingly good, and had a prodigious memory."⁴ The proprietor of one of the livery stables was of German descent, as was also the shoemaker who agreed to teach him German. The shoemaker, however, was more intent on learning English, and Sam's desire to acquire German received a temporary setback.⁵

In the office of his brother's printing establishment in Keokuk, Iowa, young Sam associated with a German apprentice by the name of Fritz, whose broken English amused him no end⁶ and probably formed in him a lasting impression of the Teutonic tongue. In fact, the predilection for the humorous admixture of German and English, a predilection which remained with him throughout his entire life, may well have had its roots in the daily associations with this lad. That young Sam might have absorbed, although without formal instruction, some knowledge of German would seem a reasonable conclusion to draw from a bit of evidence at this time. In a letter addressed to Annie Taylor, a pretty girl with whom he seems to have had more than a casual acquaintance, he wrote: "If I understood the lingo *well enough*, I would write you a Dutch one [essay] for him."⁷

His interest in German did not flag during the instructive years as a pilot on the Mississippi. He registered with a school for languages,⁸ with the avowed purpose of studying French, German, and Italian, but finally relinquished German and Italian in favor of French. As a pilot he had an unusual opportunity to meet people from every walk of life. Many of these people were of German origin, and the observations culled from his experiences with them were of considerable moment in keeping alive and in enlarging his interest in things German.

Even in the West as a prospector, Sam did not altogether lose touch with the German language, because even there he met Germans.⁹ On a pilgrimage to Carson City, he was accompanied by "a fat-witted, arrogant Prussian" named Pfersdoff (Ollendorff),¹⁰ and years later, as the leading man on the *Enterprise*, he found in Virginia City and the Comstock Lode a strange commingling of races,

⁴ *Life on the Mississippi*, VII, 438 ff. In citing Mark Twain's works, reference is made to the American Artists Edition, published by Harper & Brothers, New York.

⁵ Albert Bigelow Paine, *Mark Twain: A Biography* (Harper & Brothers, 1929), XXX (Stormfield Edition), 82 f.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 107 f.

⁷ Minnie M. Brashear, *Mark Twain, Son of Missouri*, p. 169. The letter is dated May 25, 1855.

⁸ Paine, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

⁹ There are several references to Germans in *Roughing It*. See VI (Part 1), 252-54, 283; (Part 2), 63.

¹⁰ *Roughing It*, VI (Part 1) 209.

among whom the Germans were well represented. We are told that in Virginia City he frequented a cigar store which was kept by a German.¹¹

The years between 1863 and 1878 were years of intense activity. Germans may have crossed his path, though that fact is nowhere specifically recorded. He did, however, engage a German nursemaid for his oldest daughter Susy, and that, one may well imagine, may have been dictated by a strong desire for German atmosphere.

His prospective trip to Europe, which was to last a year or more on the Continent with headquarters in Germany, however, furnished the first practical incentive to the study of German. During the early months of 1878, Mark Twain undertook, for the first time, a serious and sustained study of the German language. His most immediate practical objective was the acquisition of a critical knowledge¹² of the language, that is, the acquisition of a serviceable reading knowledge and, no less important, the acquisition of a knowledge of the fundamental grammatical and syntactical patterns of the language and of the vocabulary whose picturesque phrases he was to find so startling, humorous, and expressive. Mark Twain's own enthusiasm and perseverance were certain to insure progress, and within a reasonably short time he developed that real linguistic sense which is so essential to functional, interpretive reading.¹³

With his departure for Germany, Mark Twain had ample opportunity to practice his German. On the voyage across the ocean, he was in daily contact with Bayard Taylor, then recently appointed Minister to Germany, and Taylor had a large capacity for languages.¹⁴ He repeatedly sang folk songs. We find Mark Twain jotting down in German, apparently for the sake of practice, some of the notes in his notebook.¹⁵ In Hanover and Frankfort the struggle with "the awful German language"¹⁶ continued. In Heidelberg he called on Professor Ihne, professor of the English language at the University, and it was he who recommended a German instructor.

¹¹ Paine, *op. cit.*, p. 224 f.

¹² In a letter to Twichell in Hartford, dated Jan. 26, 1879, Mark Twain explains the *three* purposes of his trip. "The first you know and must keep secret . . . ; the second is to study Art, and the third to acquire a critical knowledge of the German language" (*Mark Twain's Letters*, I, 350).

¹³ Paine, *op. cit.*, II, 616.

¹⁴ Taylor's knowledge of German, it is said, was so superb that even educated Germans on board ship submitted questions of construction to him.

¹⁵ *Mark Twain's Notebook*, p. 133.

¹⁶ His comments at this time on the German language are quite interesting: (a) "Some of the German words are so long that they have a perspective. When one casts his glance along down one of these it gradually tapers to a point, like the receding lines of a railway track" (*Mark Twain's Notebook*, p. 137); (b) "In early times some sufferer had to sit up with a toothache, and he put in the time inventing the German language" (*Notebook*, p. 141); (c) "Dreamed that all bad foreigners went to German heaven, couldn't speak the language, and wished they'd gone to the other place" (*ibid.*, p. 138).

To Mark Twain the language gradually became a sort of nightmare.¹⁷ Yet, for a while at least, he did not succumb to this feeling of utter helplessness. He interested himself in the daily affairs of his landlady, on whom he practiced his German. On his long walks and excursions by rail and on his journey through the Black Forest and Switzerland, he again and again stopped to gossip with wayside natives "as long as he had any German left." He attended, together with Twichell, a performance of *King Lear*, played in German in Mannheim, but for three hours, he complains, he never understood a word but the thunder and lightning, and even that, he found, was reversed to suit German ideas.¹⁸

In spite of his highly colored comments on the language, Mark Twain was apparently fairly well satisfied with the progress which he had made. He felt he had attained a sufficient degree of facility in the spoken language to undertake a Fourth of July address to the American students in Heidelberg—an address which consisted of a questionable admixture of German and English.¹⁹ He continued to enlarge his reading vocabulary through the reading of German books²⁰ in Munich in the winter of 1878-1879 and devoted considerable time to practicing the language.²¹ But when he found that the study of German conflicted with his work, he dropped the former and limited his reading to the morning papers "to get the news."²² It was at this time that he translated Heine's "Die Lorelei," which he incorporated into his *A Tramp Abroad*. On his own admission he found this "people's favorite" insufferable at first. Gradually, however, "it took hold of him and it seemed to him as though there was no tune which he liked so well." Though not a masterful rendition, his translation nevertheless shows that he had gained some-

¹⁷ For example: (a) "I can *understand* German as well as the maniac that invented it, but I *talk* it best through an interpreter" (*A Tramp Abroad*, XI [Part 1], 106); (b) "My tongue's all warped with trying to curl it around these—-forsaken wind-galled nine-jointed German words here" (*ibid.*, p. 172); (c) "It's awful undermining to the intellect, German is; you want to take it in small doses, or first you know your brains all run together, and you feel them sloshing around in your head same as so much drawn butter" (*ibid.*, p. 262).

¹⁸ *A Tramp Abroad*, XI (Part 1), 63; also *Notebook*, p. 138.

¹⁹ Mark Twain was rather regretful that he had not delivered such an address at the Bayard Taylor banquet in New York. In a letter addressed to Howells and dated May 26, 1878, from Heidelberg, Twain wrote: "It occurs to me that I made a great mistake in not thinking to deliver a very bad German speech, every other sentence pieced out with English, at the Bayard Taylor banquet in New York. I think I could have made it one of the features of the occasion" (*Mark Twain's Letters*, I, 331).

²⁰ In *Mark Twain's Notebook*, p. 148, we find this notation: "Reading German books shows in what a narrow groove of vocabulary authors travel—they use the same words all the time. Read a book of one and you can fluently read the others. Take up a book by another author and you have got to go for the dictionary. His vocabulary is all different."

²¹ *Life on the Mississippi*, VII, 263.

²² Paine, *op. cit.*, II, 638; also *Mark Twain's Letters*, I, 343 f.

thing of the poetic beauties and possibilities of the German language, that he was not interested in the thought content alone.

There seems to be no doubt that Mark Twain found the speaking of the German language²³ rather difficult and tedious work. Just what fluency and perfection he actually did attain in the spoken tongue at this time is, of course, hard to measure. A man who had such an exceptionally retentive memory and, above all, the perseverance and tenacity to learn by heart "every town, sandbar, point, snag, landmark, bend, island, dead tree, bank, and reef on the twelve hundred miles of the Mississippi river from St. Louis to New Orleans" could certainly have acquired a high degree of proficiency in the spoken German language if he had so wished. Mark Twain, however, did not seriously set his mind to it. Whatever facility in the spoken language he did acquire was limited by the determination to put up with "the least possible personal inconvenience," as his friend Howells²⁴ realized. What Mark Twain felt that he did attain was "a critical knowledge of the language," which found happy expression in his essay "The Awful German Language."

After his return from Europe in September, 1879, his interest in the German language seems to have waned temporarily, perhaps because his literary work languished and also because he became increasingly involved and absorbed in the publishing business. With these preoccupations, he wasted little thought or energy in other directions. However, he did not lose touch completely. Rosa, the German nursemaid, was still with them, and from the "Children's Book," a series of memoranda he kept, we learn that he also engaged a German nurse, Eliza, for Jean, his youngest daughter, who charmed him with her "business" German. Mrs. Clemens herself was occupied daily with the study of German and spent considerable time and effort teaching the two children the language. But around 1882 he again turned to the language for the specific purpose of translating a passage from the *Mississippi-Fahrten* by Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg²⁵ for incorporation into his book *Life on the Mississippi*, and around 1885 some of his jottings are made in German, for no particular reason except that he must have been very much

²³ He was very much impressed with the lingual attainments of foreigners and perhaps secretly envied them. In a letter to his mother (dated Dec. 1, 1878) and in one to Dr. J. Brown in Edinburgh (dated Aug. 21, 1879) he seems to take measureless pride in the fact that his children were able to speak German so well. A similar sentiment was expressed in a letter to Taylor (dated Munich, Dec. 14, 1878).

²⁴ Howells wrote to Mark Twain: "Really I could imagine the German going hard with you, for you always seemed to me a man who liked to be understood with the least possible personal inconvenience."

²⁵ Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg was a German tourist who was an eyewitness of the scenes which he described. The passage in question contained a description of Memphis (*Life on the Mississippi*, VII, 249).

interested in the language.²⁶ About this period we also find references to German in letters²⁷ and works,²⁸ both printed and unprinted.

A period of renewed interest and active study set in during the winter of 1886 to 1887. He was a member of a German class which met at regular intervals at his home. Each month there were conversation days when all sorts of things, real and imaginary, were discussed in German. How long and how steadfastly these group meetings lasted is not directly and reliably known, and to what serious effort Mark Twain applied himself in improving his spoken German is problematical. His three-act play, *Die Meisterschaft*, which was published in modified form in the *Century Magazine* of January, 1888, confirms the impression, however, that he must have acquitted himself very creditably.

Opportunities for further oral-aural practice presented themselves during his sojourn in Germany and Switzerland from June, 1891, to March, 1892. His visits to Bayreuth and the Wagner festival, to Marienbad, Nuremberg, Heidelberg, and Switzerland, and his social life in Berlin in that winter, brought him into personal contact with distinguished men and women from every circle of achievement. In many instances, German was the sole language of conversation. Face to face with this hard fact, Mark Twain found himself, under the stress of compulsion, putting his linguistic ability to the severest test—and, one must admit, not always with striking success. On the other hand, whenever the occasion permitted, he preferred to take the path of least resistance. In exploring the Berlin Royal Library, for example, it was much easier for him to accept the services of a guide like Henry W. Fisher, an American correspondent, who in addition to his journalistic talent possessed an excellent command of German. For no other reason than that of a desire to avoid inconvenience to himself, he again and again commissioned Fisher to delve into German books for certain details.²⁹ When one considers the faithfulness and the magnitude of his efforts in the study of French sources which he found necessary in the preparation of *Joan of Arc*, his labor of love, evidenced by the multitude of notes along the margin of the French authorities, there is good reason to believe that, had the occasion demanded it, Mark Twain could have displayed the same proficiency in the German tongue.

²⁶ *Mark Twain's Notebook*, p. 188.

²⁷ In a letter to Howells from Hartford, April 8, 1884, Mark Twain injects a number of German words, such as *eingebüßt*, *verflucht*, *Tobsucht*, and *Herr*. See *Mark Twain's Letters*, II, 442.

²⁸ For example, in the sketches "Mrs. McWilliams and the Lightning" (1880) and "Taming the Bicycle" (either 1883 or 1884).

²⁹ Henry W. Fisher, *Abroad with Mark Twain and Eugene Field* (New York: Nicholas L. Brown, 1922), p. 78.

It was not uncommon for Mark Twain to depreciate the level of competence which he had attained in the German language. He had the habit of exaggeration, whether by overstatement or understatement, for humorous effect, and that fact is nowhere more in evidence than in his frequent references to the German language. Thus, during his month's illness in Berlin (1891-1892), when he contends that he was "immensely but unintelligently interested" in the debates that were raging at that time in the Reichstag; that he got excited over them, though he did not *versteh*; that by reading he kept himself in a perpetual state of excited ignorance; and that, although he didn't understand, "he was having a booming time all to himself,"³⁰ we must keep in mind that he was probably having his joke and expanding and embroidering as was his wont. Mark Twain had attained, in fact, a far larger measure of success in understanding German. He had reached the point where he was able to follow intelligently a series of lectures by Erich Schmidt on German literature.

Mark Twain spent the winters of 1897 and 1898 in Vienna, where he observed the interesting phases of Austrian life. As in Berlin, Fisher was again much in demand as "interpreter, pathfinder, and general cicerone." Mark Twain was accustomed to the Berlin dialect and found it difficult "to acclimatize his German, making it chime in with the Vienna variety."³¹ Soon after his arrival he had an opportunity, as guest of honor at the Concordia Club, to deliver an impromptu speech in German. One critic in the *Neues Wiener Tageblatt* felt that he had not fully mastered the German language, but that he nevertheless controlled it sufficiently well to make it difficult to detect any harsh foreign accent.³² Another critic in the *Illustrierte Zeitung*³³ seemed to take the view that he spoke the language quite fluently but with an English accent. The recorded version³⁴ of this speech shows clearly that Mark Twain had acquired a very satisfactory grasp of idiomatic but not scholarly German. This is further substantiated by the fact that he followed the debates in the Austrian Reichsrath, or Imperial Parliament, during the general outbreak that arose from the friction among the unamalgamated Austrian States, between the Hungarian and German wings of the house. He had, moreover, an intense interest in the German drama, attending a performance of Adolf Wilbrandt's *Master of Palmyra*, a morality play, and a performance of a play which he translated later into

³⁰ Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Preface, p. xviii.

³² Paine, *op. cit.*, III, 1049.

³³ Dec. 23, 1897, pp. 889-90.

³⁴ The entire speech is published in *Mark Twain's Speeches*, XXIV, 168-75. Portions of it appeared in the *Illustrierte Zeitung*, Dec. 23, 1897, p. 889 f.

English under the title *In Purgatory*.³⁵ He also undertook to collaborate with Siegmund Schlesinger, a Viennese journalist, on some plays dealing with American life. But language difficulties naturally arose and retarded progress, and they agreed to wait until they understood each other's tongue "more perfectly." We may also surmise that, as years before in Berlin, he drew much benefit linguistically from his associations with authors, journalists, painters, philosophers, scientists, and diplomats who frequented his drawing room.

Throughout his Austrian visit he also read the daily German papers³⁶ faithfully and devoted much time to the writing of German,³⁷ and from some of the remarks in his notebook we may conclude that he gave much thought to an analysis of language processes³⁸ and to the reading of the German script.³⁹

The spring of 1899 ended Mark Twain's residence in German-speaking countries. The subsequent years, spent variously in Sweden, England, Italy, and America, added a complexity of interests—social, political, business, and literary—and with these increasing diversities, coupled with family anxieties, there came also a natural decrease in the opportunities for further intensive study of German. Now and then, however, we find slight reference to and evidence of a continued German interest⁴⁰ which remained with him, off and on, until the end of his life. In moments when he wished to express his innermost feelings, he resorted to German. And frequently he would conclude his letters to his wife with an apt phrase in German. The highest tribute which he could have paid to the German language lies

³⁵ Mark Twain wrote Mr. Rogers that he had sent the translation to Charles Frohman, who pronounced it "all jabber and no play." Twain found that "curious, for it tears these Austrians to pieces with laughter. When I see it on the stage it is exceedingly funny." See Paine, *op. cit.*, III, 1074 f.

³⁶ *Mark Twain's Letters*, II, 678.

³⁷ According to Kate Leary, for thirty years Clemens' faithful and devoted servant, he used to write a whole page every day for her in German—questions and the answers to them. See Mary Lawton, *A Lifetime with Mark Twain* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1925), p. 179.

³⁸ On one of his frequent trips to America from the Continent, he jotted down this comment: "Drill—that is the valuable thing. Drill—drill—drill—that is the precious thing. For, from drill comes the automatic, and few things in this world are well done until they can *do themselves*. If teachers would but drill—drill—drill in the language! But God never made a language-teacher out of a sane person yet. When he can't get an idiot He won't play" (*Mark Twain's Notebook*, p. 236).

³⁹ In his notebook (p. 346) we find this interesting notation: "It is easier for a cannibal to enter the kingdom of Heaven through the eye of a rich man's needle than it is for any other foreigner to read the terrible German script."

⁴⁰ For example, in his *Autobiography* (II, 167-69) Mark Twain tells of his discussion with Susy about German profanity. One who had such an unholo talent for picturesque invective would naturally enjoy German profanity. One of the phrases that he particularly enjoyed was "O heilige Maria Mutter Jesu!" Jean's German nurse, "not 15, just from Germany, and knew no English," had used that expression. In 1906 we find him purchasing some German books as a birthday gift for Clara.

embodied in the line which he ordered inscribed on the simple marker for his wife's grave: "*Gott sei dir gnädig, O meine Wonne!*" The comfort and consolation which he himself found in the German songs and ballads during the most lonely days of his life merely reaffirm that high esteem in which he held, throughout his entire life, the "awful German language."

* * *

There is, comparatively speaking, little evidence in the works of Mark Twain of all his knowledge and speculation. He was not a systematic student. Although he valued and admired scholarship, and German scholarship in particular, he did not employ the scholarly methods of documentation and reference. One does find, to be sure, quotations from sources and references to specific German authors and works, but this documentation is, in the main, held down to a minimum.

In the attempt to determine what German books Mark Twain may have read, it is thus necessary to supplement his published works with other sources of information. His private library contained many German books. Some of these were disposed of at an auction sale in February of 1911; others were presented to the village of Redding, Connecticut, for the "Mark Twain Library," which he had established during his residence in that community. With very few exceptions, these volumes contained his autograph and the probable date of purchase.

As a vital aid to the study of German, Mark Twain seems to have been acquainted with some of the teaching manuals prevalent in his time. He used *Ahn's *First German Book*,⁴¹ W. H. Woodbury's *A New Method of Learning the German Language*, Dr. Emil Otto's *German Grammar*,⁴² Ollendorff's *New Method of Learning German*,⁴³ and *Die Meisterschaft*.⁴⁴ These books were in time supplemented by Chr. F. Grieb's *German and English Dictionary*, Daniel Sander's *Wörterbuch deutscher Synonyme*, and *Anton Schlessing's *Deutscher Wortschatz oder Der passende Ausdruck*.

His general introduction to the history of German literature, though within a moderate compass, was probably derived through the medium of the translations appearing in *Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *Poets and Poetry of Europe*,⁴⁵ *Frederic H. Hedge's *Prose Writers of Germany*,⁴⁶ and *Alfred Baskerville's *The Poetry of Germany*.⁴⁷ Longfellow's work contained brief but comprehensive

⁴¹ The starred volumes are in the "Mark Twain Library" in Redding, Connecticut.

⁴² Mentioned in *A Tramp Abroad*, XI (Part 1), 255.

⁴³ *Die Meisterschaft*, IV, 343.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, 343.

⁴⁵ New York: James Miller, 1863, pp. 180-370.

⁴⁶ New York: James Miller, 1863, 4th edition.

⁴⁷ Baden-Baden: Haendcke & Lehmkuhl, 1876.

introductory sketches dealing with the peculiarities of the language and with the several epochs into which the literary history of Germany is divided. These, together with the rather brief biographical or critical notices of the poets, enabled him to gain a connected if not detailed view of the copious poetical literature of Germany. Baskerville's *The Poetry of Germany* offered selections commencing with the first dawn of the second classical period. The German text was accompanied by translations into English verse, and this arrangement undoubtedly facilitated his reading. The selections in Hedge's *Prose Writers of Germany* were also prefaced with critical and biographical essays in which the authors' histories were given, together with collateral matter illustrative of their periods and careers.

There is good reason to believe that Mark Twain was attracted to the almost innumerable love-songs and poetic romances of the Minnesingers and particularly to the collection of heroic poems known as the "Heldenbuch." His interest in the most complete of all the German popular epics, the *Nibelungenlied*, may have led him to read *William Morris' *The Story of Sigurd the Volsung and the Fall of the Nibelungen*.⁴⁸

He had at least a fragmentary knowledge of the illustrious poets of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries. However, only two are specifically mentioned by name, Theodor Körner and Heinrich Heine. Eight lines from Körner's poem "Worte der Liebe" serve as a chapter-head motto in his *Gilded Age*.⁴⁹ Inasmuch as the poem did not appear in the collection of Körner's *Gedichte* but in the volume entitled *The Life of Carl Theodor Körner*⁵⁰ (written by his father) which contained selections from his poems, tales, and dramas, the assumption seems justified that Twain must have known the German version of that work. Heine, to whom he was introduced by Howells, appealed to him particularly. He incorporated the music and the original version as well as his own translation of "Die Lorelei" in his *A Tramp Abroad*,⁵¹ and "Du bist wie eine Blume" in his *Meisterschaft*.⁵² These two poems he took, in all probability, from *Heine's *Buch der Lieder*, which he read in the original. He also read Heine's epigrams and much of his prose. From these he came to know the many contradictions in that author's life and character. Heine's "mattress grave" gripped his imagination, and he had a warm spot for his "Mouche," the real inspiration, comfort, and laughter-producing influence in his life. Fisher recalls

⁴⁸ Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1877.

⁴⁹ X (Part 1), 216, 319.

⁵⁰ The translation from the German, made by G. P. Richardson of the British Museum, was published in London by David Nutt in 1845.

⁵¹ XI (Part 1), 123-28.

⁵² IV, 370 f.

that Mark Twain always liked to talk about "La Mouche, Heine's girl-friend-to-the-death" and brought pressure to bear upon him to hunt through dozens of books, many of them German, for her real name. He was quite relieved when he heard that she was not of German extraction; for, in his judgment, a German girl "by her innate heaviness" would have spoiled that nimbleness of language that is admired in Heine.⁵³ It was this "nimbleness of language," enhanced by "a glittering wit" and "a scintillating glow of fancy," that attracted his unrelaxed attention. And it was a source of profound satisfaction to him to discover that nowhere in Heine's writings did he find "the bitter Jew who emptied all the insult in his soul on Aryan heads." Heine's last words, "Never mind my sins, God will forgive them. Forgiving is his business," struck a responsive chord within Mark Twain, who in contrast did not forgive his enemies, even though they were dead.

Hedge's *Prose Writers of Germany* gave him some familiarity with the most distinguished prose writers from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. He met with such illustrious names as Möser, Mendelssohn, Hamann, Musäus, Claudius, Lavater, Jacobi, Herder, Jean Paul, the Schlegel brothers, Novalis, Tieck, and E. T. A. Hoffmann—all of them writers of no common skill—and learned something of their unique contributions to the literary history of the German people.

Martin Luther,⁵⁴ whom he termed one of the "stateliest names of history," commanded his deep respect. He was very much impressed not only by Luther's temperament, made "not of butter, but of asbestos," but also by his honesty. Contrasted with the *insincerity* of man, that honesty, it seemed to him, stood out like a comet, with fame eternal. "A merely honest man," he wrote in his notebook,⁵⁵ "needs no genius, no talent." Of the great reformer's writings he probably read prose selections from short treatises on secular and religious subjects, excerpts from sermons and letters, and representative hymns, such as he might find in translated form in Hedge's work. His library contained *Luther's translation of the Bible,⁵⁶ and we may reasonably assume that his obvious familiarity with the English version simplified his reading in German to such an extent that he read intensively in it.

⁵³ Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

⁵⁴ There are a number of references to Luther in Mark Twain's works. Cf. "English as She Is Taught," XII, 249; *A Tramp Abroad*, XI (Part 2), 259; *Notebook*, XXII, 181; *Mark Twain's Speeches*, XXIV, 130.

⁵⁵ XXII, 181.

⁵⁶ *Die Bibel nach der deutschen Übersetzung von Dr. Martin Luther*. Leipzig: 1874. *Das neue Testament*, published by the Amerikanische Bibel-Gesellschaft in New York, was presented to Susy Clemens on board ship, April 22, 1878.

He seems to have read something of Wieland, most probably the *Abderiten* in the original, from which work he took a German quotation as a chapter-head motto in *The Gilded Age*.⁵⁷ *Chamisso's *Peter Schlemihl* and *Fouqué's *Undine* he read not only in translation but also in the original, as also *Paul Heyse's *Novellen*. Fritz Reuter is mentioned in *A Tramp Abroad*,⁵⁸ and since a fairly good German scholar who is also familiar with English would experience but slight difficulty in reading Plattdeutsch, we may conclude he may have read that author's famous account of his life in prison, *Ut mine Festunstid*. He had struck up a personal friendship with Heinrich Seidel, the "Mark Twain of Germany," and enjoyed the charm, the natural flow, and the refreshingly delicate humor of his stories. The tale *Der Tausendmarkschein*⁵⁹ in particular appealed to him. He found equally absorbing the humorous sketches of *Eduard Pötzl, one of the foremost humorists and feuilletonists of Vienna, with whom he was on intimate terms during his sojourn there. His library contained *Stadtmenschen, ein Wiener Skizzenbuch, Bummel, Launen, Koch von Kahlenberg, and Landsleute*⁶⁰—all of them humorous sketches dealing with Viennese life.

There is some ground for the belief that Mark Twain may have had a slight acquaintance with Lessing, since Carl von Thaler,⁶¹ a student of classical and oriental philology, attributes a quotation in "The Awful German Language" to the author of *Laokoon*.

Schiller⁶² Mark Twain found eminently worth while. He was deeply interested in the humorous apologue "Pegasus in Harness,"⁶³ as well as in "The Fight with the Dragon," which he read in translation.⁶⁴ **Maria Stuart* he most probably read in the original, and various allusions suggest that he may have read *Joan of Arc, William Tell, and The History of the Thirty Years War*.⁶⁵ In his later years he added *Eugen Kühnemann's *Ausgewählte Briefe von Friedrich Schiller* to his library.

It was more by accident than design that Mark Twain spent an hour in the Goethe mansion in Frankfurt on his first trip abroad. As a printer by trade, he was naturally more interested in visiting

⁵⁷ X (Part I), 272, 320.

⁵⁸ XI (Part I), 144 f.

⁵⁹ See *Der Tag*, Unterhaltungsbeilage, July 25, 1924, p. 178.

⁶⁰ The title page of this little volume carries the inscription: *Seinem verehrten Meister Mark Twain. Christmas, 1898.*

⁶¹ *Die Gegenwart*, Jg. 55, 1899, p. 378.

⁶² There are several references to Schiller. Cf. *A Tramp Abroad*, XI (Part I), 259 f.

⁶³ Schillers *Pegasus im Joche* nebst Andeutungen zu den Umrissen von Moritz Retzsch. Stuttgart, n.d.

⁶⁴ Translated by J. R. Collin. With 16 engravings in outline from the design of Retzsch. Boston, 1877. The flyleaf contains Mark Twain's autograph and the date November 30th, 1884.

⁶⁵ Cf. *Mark Twain's Speeches*, XXIV, 172.

the birthplace of Gutenberg. To his own disappointment he found that no memorandum of the site of the house had been kept. When he accordingly turned his attention to the Goethe house, he was somewhat chagrined to find that the city had permitted it "to belong to private parties, instead of gracing and dignifying herself with the honor of possessing and protecting it." In Goethe he found the "fatherlandish" author whom both Vienna and Berlin admired (though nobody reads him). He himself did not "tackle" Goethe until the latter was "Englished." Bayard Taylor, who was on board ship on Mark Twain's first trip abroad, recited whole acts of his metric translation of *Faust*, and it was perhaps Taylor who, by exploratory suggestions, encouraged his reading of Goethe. He read Taylor's,⁶⁶ and also T. J. Arnold's,⁶⁷ translation of *Faust*, and found great delight in the twenty-six etchings to *Goethe's *Faust* by Moritz Retzsch.⁶⁸ From *Goethe's *Gedichte*⁶⁹ he learned something of the variety and completeness of that author's lyric genius, whether in the simple popular poem of grave or gay content, in gnomic verse, in the ode, or in the elegy and ballad. He was particularly impressed by "the master's idea of *Waldeinsamkeit*" as expressed in the poem "Über allen Gipfeln ist Ruh"⁷⁰ and by the beauty of the ballad "Der Erlkönig." Splendid democrat that he was, he disapproved of Goethe's meek idolatry of provincial three-carat royalty and nobility. And he rejected Goethe's idea of "the thrill of awe," that is to say, reverence, as "the best thing humanity has." "A discriminating irreverence," he argued, "is the creator and protector of human liberty."⁷¹ Goethe's autobiography, *Aus meinem Leben: Dichtung und Wahrheit*,⁷² he probably read in the original, with the aid of a dictionary, of course. In his library he had four volumes of Goethe's works in the so-called "Taschenausgabe," published by the Cotta Verlag in Stuttgart in 1887. His visit to Heilbronn⁷³ and the very same inn which the famous old robber-knight, Götz von Berlichingen, abode in, and to the "Rathaus," where he received a facsimile of a letter written by the fine old German Robin Hood in 1519, awakened his interest in the memoirs of Götz and might conceivably have led him to read Goethe's treatment of that knight. His criticism of Goethe's portraiture of feminine characters as "all beefy things" with the exception of Gretchen lends support to the suspicion that

⁶⁶ Boston: Riverside Press, 1879.

⁶⁷ Illustrated from original designs by A. L. Mayer, with ornaments by Rudolf Seitz, Munich, 1877.

⁶⁸ *Faust Illustrations*, Boston, 1877. A presentation copy to Mark Twain from his daughter.

⁶⁹ Halle a.d.S.: Otto Hendel, 1888.

⁷⁰ Cf. "Marienbad" (1891), XX, 122 f. Mark Twain quotes the entire poem in the original.

⁷¹ IV, 79, 81.

⁷² Illustrated. Berlin, 1873.

⁷³ *A Tramp Abroad*, XI (Part 1), 86 f., 103, 113, 89 f.

he might have read other dramatic and prose works of Goethe, though perhaps fragmentarily.

Twain seems to have known something of Grillparzer. He was hugely amused, Fisher recalls, at the fact that a verse in one of Grillparzer's tragedies, "He was a King even in his undershirt and drawers," should have caused the play to be put on the Index by the censor. Mark Twain, however, had no sympathy for the author, replying in his own inimitable manner, "He ought to have put pajamas on the cuss."⁷⁴ While in Vienna, he saw a performance of Adolf Wilbrandt's *Der Meister von Palmyra*⁷⁵ and of a play which he himself later translated into English under the title *In Purgatory*. He probably read *Friedrich Halm's *Wildfeuer*,⁷⁶ a dramatic poem in five acts, and Freiherr Alfred von Berger's *Habsburg*,⁷⁷ a Märchenspiel in three acts. From this fairy drama Mark Twain borrowed nine lines⁷⁸ which drew a fine descriptive picture of the Empress-Queen. He did not make a close translation; what he tried to convey was the spirit of the lines, in which attempt he succeeded most admirably.

As related above, he attended a performance of Shakespeare's *King Lear* in German in the city of Mannheim, and this experience may well have furnished the incentive that led him to a study of the German translations of Shakespeare. What he actually thought of these translations is perhaps most pungently expressed in a comment which Fisher attributes to him: "They think them classic—they get my eyes in flood with laughter."⁷⁹

Wagner and his music dramas were deeply etched in Mark Twain's mind. *Parsifal* he enjoyed "in spite of the singing"; *Tannhäuser* he found "so solemn and impressive and so divinely beautiful" with elements appropriate to "a religious service"; *Lohengrin* seemed "a curious sort of play," a "narrative play" whose appeal, for him at least, lay exclusively in the music and gorgeous procession of the Wedding Chorus; and *Tristan und Isolde*, one of the most extraordinary experiences of his life, impressed him with its tremendous emotional appeal.

Children's books were a source of inexplicable joy and a welcome change. He read in the original *R. Niedergesäß' *Kinderstubeengeschichten*,⁸⁰ some thirty stories; *H. C. Andersen's *Bilderbuch ohne Bilder*;⁸¹ *Wilhelm Hey's *Fünfzig Fabeln für Kinder*;⁸² *Wilhelm

⁷⁴ Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

⁷⁵ See "About Play-Acting," XV, 213-25.

⁷⁶ Wien: Carl Gerolds Sohn, 1896.

⁷⁷ Wien, 1898. Mentioned in "The Memorable Assassination," XII, 180 f.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

⁸⁰ 2nd edition. With pictures by Fritz Bergen. Stuttgart: Verlag Gebrüder Kröner, 1887.

⁸¹ Nach der 5. dänischen Ausgabe, deutsch von Edmund Lobedanz. Berlin: Grote'sche Verlagshandlung, 1874. Mentioned in "Is He Living or Dead?" XV, 242.

⁸² In Bildern gezeichnet nach Otto Speckter. Gotha: Fr. A. Perthes, 1878.

Busch's *Max und Moritz, eine Bubengeschichte in 7 Streichen*,⁸³ as well as the quaint rhymes and pictures of the old nursery book, *Der Struwwelpeter*, by Dr. Heinrich Hoffmann, which he translated into English.

German legends and fairy tales that peopled the lofty Neckar hills with gnomes and dwarfs and all sorts of mysterious and uncanny creatures so intrigued his imagination that he read extensively in this literature. He was not sure but that he was beginning to believe in them as realities.⁸⁴ *A. Hermann Bernard's *Legends of the Rhine*⁸⁵ and F. J. Kiefer's *The Legends of the Rhine from Basle to Rotterdam*,⁸⁶ both English translations from the German originals, the former by Fr. Arnold, the latter by L. W. Garnham, were two of the many source books he read on this subject. Many of these legends found their way into *A Tramp Abroad*. Equally informative were *Gustav zu Putlitz' *Was sich der Wald erzählt*,⁸⁷ a Märchenstrauß which he received as a gift from L. Waldstein in remembrance of Marienbad, August, 1891, and *Wilhelmine von Hillern's *Am Kreuz*,⁸⁸ a religious romance of the Passion play at Oberammergau, which he probably read in the original.

German novels, popularly current at that time, were not wholly unknown to him. In his essay "The Awful German Language" we find several quotations which had been culled from German novels and reduced to English. The popular and excellent novel *The Old Mamselle's Secret* by Mrs. Marlitt⁸⁹ was the source of one of the passages which attacked the "Parenthesis distemper." References in the same essay to German Sunday-school books,⁹⁰ and to German journals in the article "German Journals,"⁹¹ though useful sources of information, nevertheless remain unidentifiable.

We have Mark Twain's own statement that biography held an unusual fascination for him. Baron Trenck's⁹² celebrated autobiography, *Merkwürdige Lebensgeschichte*,⁹³ with its romantic and highly colored mixture of fact and imagination, he may have read in the original; but it is more probable that he preferred the translation, for there were a number of English translations available

⁸³ München: Verlag von Braun u. Schneider.

⁸⁴ *A Tramp Abroad*, XI (Part 1), 12 f.

⁸⁵ Mayense: Joseph Halenza.

⁸⁶ Mentioned in *A Tramp Abroad*, XI (Part 1), 3.

⁸⁷ Berlin: Gebrüder Paetel, 1886.

⁸⁸ Stuttgart: Union Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1890.

⁸⁹ *A Tramp Abroad*, XI (Part 2), 269.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 273.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 295. Mark Twain translates some thirty lines of a child-murder story.

⁹² Mentioned in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, IX, 331.

⁹³ Berlin, 1787.

which had delighted the youth of several generations. He was a "pilgrim" of the Margravina Wilhelmina,⁹⁴ she of the imperishable *Memoirs*, and he was "as pleased as a three-year old with a new toy" when the American journalist, Henry W. Fisher, gave him the set of Howells' translation of *Memoirs of the Margravina Wilhelmina of Bayreuth*. His library contained, moreover, a copy of Moritz Busch's *Unser Reichskanzler: Studien zu einem Charakterbilde*.⁹⁵ These two volumes he undoubtedly tried to read in the original, for he held Bismarck, who owned and read his (Mark Twain's) works and even memorized the best things in *The Innocents Abroad* to relate to his grandchildren, in high regard.⁹⁶ He was indeed proud of Bismarck's partiality for his books. He was indebted to Fisher for his translation of Field Marshal Count Helmuth von Moltke's *Letters*.⁹⁷ A personal acquaintanceship may have led him to read Wolf von Schierbrand's translation of *William II*.⁹⁸

Though music did not appeal to him greatly, he nevertheless seems to have had a biographical interest in the lives of some of the great German musicians. He found relaxing moments reading *Louis Nohl's *Life of Beethoven*⁹⁹ and *Life of Liszt*,¹⁰⁰ the former translated from the German by John J. Lalor, the latter by George P. Upton; the *Personal Recollections of Johannes Brahms*¹⁰¹ by George Henschel; and Sebastian Hensel's *Die Familie Mendelssohn (1729-1847) nach Briefen und Tagebüchern*,¹⁰² translated by Carl Klingemann and an American collaborator.

Critics have again and again stressed his intense interest in history. This is corroborated by the number of volumes in his library dealing with the history of the German people. August Wilhelm Grube's *Charakterbilder aus der Geschichte und Sage*,¹⁰³ Franz Otto Spamer's *Männer eigener Kraft*,¹⁰⁴ Johann Ph. Benkard's *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiser und Könige*,¹⁰⁵ a translation of Margaretha von Poschinger's *Kaiser Friedrich*¹⁰⁶ with an introduction by Sidney

⁹⁴ Mentioned in "The Shrine of St. Wagner," XII, 227. Mark Twain was grateful to her for her (unconscious) satire upon monarchy and nobility.

⁹⁵ Leipzig: F. W. Grunow, 1884.

⁹⁶ Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 116 f. There are several references to Bismarck: "Portrait of King Wilhelm III," XVIII, 320, 324; *Notebook*, XXII, 311 f., 364; *Speeches*, XXIV, 116.

⁹⁷ Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

⁹⁸ New York: Harper & Brothers, 1903. References to William II: "How to Make Dates Stick," XII, 153; "Letters to Satan," XX, 213; "To the Person Sitting in Darkness," XX, 259-61; and *Autobiography*, II, 277 f.

⁹⁹ Chicago: McClurg & Co., 1888.

¹⁰⁰ Chicago: McClurg & Co., 1887.

¹⁰¹ Boston, 1907.

¹⁰² Translated version, New York, 1881, 2 volumes.

¹⁰³ Leipzig: Friedrich Brandstetter, 1882. 3 volumes in 1.

¹⁰⁴ Leipzig, 1875.

¹⁰⁵ Frankfurt-a-M., 1869. Flyleaf contains an autograph and the date May 4, 1878.

¹⁰⁶ New York: Harper & Brothers, 1901.

Whitman; Carl Ploetz's *Epitome of Ancient, Medieval and Modern History*,¹⁰⁷ a translation with extensive additions by William H. Tillinghast; and Leopold von Ranke's *The History of the Popes, their Church and State*, with especial emphasis on their conflict with Protestantism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries¹⁰⁸—all these served to familiarize him with the great figures of German history and thought and to enlarge his understanding of the historical development of the German nation.¹⁰⁹

During his temporary residence in Germany, Mark Twain devoted considerable time to the study of art. In Heidelberg, in 1878, he studied landscape painting under Hämmerling, figure drawing under Vogel, still life under Müller, and battle pieces and shipwrecks under Dietz and Schumann.¹¹⁰ This practical instruction was in time supplemented by the more theoretical discussions of Wilhelm Lübke's *Ecclesiastical Art in Germany during the Middle Ages*,¹¹¹ A. Woltmann and K. Woermann's *History of Ancient, Early Christian, and Medieval Painting*,¹¹² a *Handbook of Painting*,¹¹³ German, Flemish, and Dutch schools, based on the *Handbook* of Franz Theodor Kugler, and Mrs. Charles Heaton's *Masterpieces of Flemish Art*,¹¹⁴ which included examples of the early German and Dutch schools.

Evidence scattered throughout Mark Twain's works indicates that he not infrequently consulted technical books. Karl Richard Lepsius' *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter nach dem hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin*, the first complete text of this religious book, supplied him with several chapter-head mottoes for *The Gilded Age*.¹¹⁵ "Mrs. McWilliams and the Lightning"¹¹⁶ contains a German quotation on the technical aspects of lightning which was derived from an unidentified German source. In *A Tramp Abroad*¹¹⁷ we find numerous references to Alpine climbing. Baedeker¹¹⁸ was a constant guide on

¹⁰⁷ Boston, 1884. With autograph, 1886.

¹⁰⁸ London, 1876. 3 volumes. Translated by E. Foster.

¹⁰⁹ Mark Twain's conception of German history was also greatly influenced by the following: *C. D. Yonge's *Landmarks of History* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1868), *C. A. Fyffe's *History of Modern Europe* (New York: Holt & Co., 1881), *Poultney Bigelow's *History of the German Struggle for Liberty* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1903), *Francis Henry Skrine's *Fontenoy and Great Britain's Share in the War of the Austrian Succession, 1741-48* (London: Blackwood & Sons, 1906), Royal Robbin's *Outlines of Ancient and Modern History* (Hartford: Hamersley, 1875), and the ten volumes of Thomas Carlyle's *History of Friedrich II of Prussia, called Frederick the Great* (London: Chapman & Hall, n.d.).

¹¹⁰ See *A Tramp Abroad*, XI (Part 1), 81 f.; (Part 2), 226.

¹¹¹ Edinburgh: Thomas C. Jack, 1877. Translation by L. A. Wheatley. Lübke was professor of art history in Stuttgart.

¹¹² New York, 1880. Volume I. A translation of *Geschichte der Malerei*.

¹¹³ London, 1874.

¹¹⁴ London, 1869.

¹¹⁵ X, 112, 155.

¹¹⁶ IV, 336 ff.

¹¹⁷ XI (Part 1), 90.

¹¹⁸ *A Tramp Abroad*, XI (Part 1), 191, 275; (Part 2), 67, 85, 126 f., 132, 202.

his wanderings. Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg's *Mississippi-Fahrten*¹¹⁹ furnished him with a descriptive picture of Memphis which he translated and embodied in his *Life on the Mississippi*.¹²⁰ In his article to Sidney G. Trist, Esq., on vivisection, dated Vienna, May 26, 1899, he refers specifically to *Professor Ernst Brücke's *Vorlesungen über Physiologie*¹²¹ and to Professor Eduard Pflüger's journal, *Archiv für die gesamte Physiologie des Menschen und der Tiere*,¹²² both of which he must have read in the original.

Mark Twain was not a profound thinker or systematic philosopher. His pessimism and negating materialism, which were the result not of inner philosophical convictions but of purely personal experiences, clearly reflect his own inadequate powers of philosophical thinking. It is therefore not at all surprising to find that his readings in German philosophy were restricted. Böhme, Kant, Schelling, Schleiermacher, Hegel, and Schlegel were probably known to him through translations, such as he might have found in Hedge's *Prose Writers of Germany*, and a course of lectures¹²³ on the history of German literature by Professor Erich Schmidt of Berlin may have laid the basis for a broader understanding of the relationship between philosophy and literature. He seems to have given some thoughtful attention to Schopenhauer, even though he found him "as incomprehensible as mutton" and "the arch-misogynist." After he and Fisher had found ten pages of copy in the Berlin Royal Library, neatly written and headed "Mein Briefkasten" with the title "Tetragamy by Schopenhauer" on the line below, he speculated on getting a book out of it by amplifying it with other writings of the philosopher, particularly his "Fragments of Philosophy" and his "Pandectes et Spicilegia."¹²⁴ The extent of his reading in Nietzsche is difficult to assess. One might surmise that Nietzsche's criticism of modern man and civilization would strike a responsive chord within Mark Twain, who found there a reflection of his own attitude toward the timid little hypocrisies of his age. He may have had Nietzsche's *Thus Spake Zarathustra* in mind when he wrote rather caustically: "Nietzsche published his book, and was at once pronounced crazy by the world—by a world which included tens of

¹¹⁹ Leipzig: C. Reissner, 1881.

¹²⁰ VII, 249.

¹²¹ II, 96. Brücke was professor of physiology and microscopic anatomy in Vienna.

¹²² II, 234. Pflüger was a well-known physiologist.

¹²³ *New York Times*, April 23, 1910.

¹²⁴ Fisher, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-81.

thousands of bright, sane men who believed exactly as Nietzsche believed but concealed the fact and scoffed at Nietzsche. What a coward every man is."¹²⁵

* * *

In retrospect it becomes clear that Mark Twain's approach to the Germans, their language, and their literature was unquestionably one of great amicability and affectionate admiration. Through personal observations,¹²⁶ contacts, and extensive reading he attained a comprehensive understanding of the German soul.

Mark Twain's interest in the German language, while it fluctuated in proportion to the demands of his other manifold interests, remained with him throughout his life. Though his own "personal convenience" prevented him from acquiring the idiomatic fluency of a native scholar, he nevertheless did gain a substantial command of the technicalities of the German language. Although he read German with a certain degree of facility, he nevertheless found it expedient to have a dictionary within his reach. German syntax became the butt of much of his humor, which was in most instances both corrosive and compassionate. Whenever the opportunity presented itself, and that was not infrequent, he could not refrain from lashing out at the peculiarities and idiosyncrasies of that tongue. To the end of his life, he found the German language, which he loved with a rare intensity, most intriguing and stimulating.

Mark Twain's reading in German was, as we have seen, by no means channelized. Its range was unusually wide and varied, covering a multitude of fields—political, literary, technical, and journalistic. Much he read in the original, that is, whenever it was convenient; but in many instances he relied upon translations. His German reading was a more or less continuous process which gained ascendancy primarily during his residence abroad. Many of his friends and acquaintances abroad were far better linguists and possessed a much wider knowledge of German writers and writings. These friends, we may surmise, gave him helpful information and guidance in his reading. Throughout a long period of time, he became acquainted with the works of a great many German writers, not only with the major German authors, but also with those minor authors who might serve his immediate purpose. Although the stat-

¹²⁵ See Bernard DeVoto: *Mark Twain in Eruption*, p. xxix.

¹²⁶ His own observations were supplemented by a popular book entitled *German Home Life* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1878) which appeared in *Fraser's Magazine* in London in 1878 as a series of articles. Twain's wife purchased this book in Paris in 1879. Important also was a rather extensive presentation of the German *Landschaft* and *Volkstum* by Dr. August Sachs, entitled *Die deutsche Heimat* (Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1885). He probably read this work in the original.

ure of many of these books may not have been exactly high, one nevertheless may make the reservation that many of them had within them elements which were conducive to further thought.

Like many other Americans, Mark Twain had the highest regard for German scholarship. His personal associations with the scholarly type of German resulted doubtless in many pleasant and beneficial discussions that stimulated, broadened, and deepened his understanding of things German as well as American.

There is thus abundant justification for concluding that in Mark Twain's contacts with Germany and its literature we may discern a distinctly literary provenience.

Hunter College

SPANISH BALLADS IN ENGLISH

PART I, HISTORICAL SURVEY

By GEORGE W. UMPHREY

The charm of the old popular ballads of Spain has been felt more widely and deeply than has that of any other kind of Spanish poetry. Their appeal to English readers is especially strong, perhaps for the reason that we, too, have a rich inheritance of popular ballads that resemble those of Spain in their human interest and dramatic directness. It is not surprising, then, that many poets should have felt the urge to translate these ballads into English verse; hundreds of ballad translations have been published since the first recorded translation of almost two centuries ago.

The surprising thing is not that there should be so many translations, but that there should be no recorded translation earlier than 1765, the date of Bishop Percy's famous collection of English ballads. The prestige of Spain among European nations in the sixteenth century; the rivalries and intermarriages between English and Spanish ruling families; the quantity and high quality of Spanish literature of the *Siglo de Oro*—all these tended to turn the attention of English translators to Spain. According to Underhill (*Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors*, p. 339), more than a hundred Spanish books, covering the whole range of literature except for lyric poetry and the drama, were translated before the end of the reign of Elizabeth. In the following century attention shifted mainly to the drama, and although few plays were actually translated, scores of new plays took their plots from the drama and prose fiction of Spain. As for poetry, all that Underhill could find for the sixteenth century were fourteen lines from Garcilaso de la Vega and two or three lyrics from the *Diana* of Montemayor. Fitzmaurice Kelly (*The Relations between Spanish and English Literature*, p. 14) makes a similar negative statement: "If it were not for Sir Philip Sidney's translations of two songs from Montemayor, we might search in vain for any trace of Spanish lyric poetry in Elizabethan literature."

The often-quoted reference to Sir Philip Sidney's interest in the old ballads ("I never heard the old song of Percie and Douglas, that I found not my heart moved more than with a trumpet . . ."); his recorded references to Spain and its literature; the growing enthusiasm of his contemporaries for the old ballads: putting together these and other facts and conjectures, we might well expect to find English translations of Spanish ballads before the second half of the eighteenth century. No investigator has yet challenged, however, the

statement of Fitzmaurice Kelly that the two translations in *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* "entitle Percy to rank as a pioneer on the road followed afterwards by Lockhart and Gibson" (*op. cit.*, p. 27).

CHRONOLOGY OF BALLAD TRANSLATIONS

- 1765 Thomas Percy, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*; two ballads from the Spanish. Five additional translations have recently been published in *Ancient Songs*, chiefly on Moorish Subjects. Oxford University Press, 1932.
- 1777 Francis Carter, *A Journey from Gibraltar to Malaga*; translation of *Ocho a ocho y diez a diez . . .*, wrongly ascribed by Buceta¹ to Robert Harding Evans, who brought out in 1810 a new edition of *Ballads, Historical and Narrative*, published by his father, Thomas Evans, in 1777. Correction made by Mrs. Luella Little.²
- 1781 John Pinkerton, *Select Scottish Ballads*. Second edition, enlarged 1783; six ballads from Spanish.
- 1801 Thomas Rodd, *Ancient Ballads from the Civil Wars of Granada*. Also, *History of Charles the Great and Orlando*, 1812; sixteen ballads from Spanish.
- 1804 John Hookham Frere, *The King of Aragon* (Miraba de Campoviejo. . .).
- 1808 Matthew Gregory Lewis, six ballad translations, at various dates.
- 1808 Robert Southey, six ballads, at various times.
- 1809 Sir Walter Scott, translation of a Spanish ballad in his review of Southey's *Chronicle of the Cid*, *Quarterly Review*, February, 1809. Much better is his translation *The Death of Don Pedro*, given by Lockhart in his *Ancient Spanish Ballads*, 1823.
- 1817 Lord Holland, *Some Account of the Life and Writings of Lope Felix de Vega Carpio*, 1806. The second edition, enlarged, 1817, contains ten ballads, mostly of the *Cid*.
- 1818 Lord Byron, *Conquest of Alhama*, taken from three *romances*; contained in *Childe Harold*.
- 1818 Mrs. Felicia Hemans; many poems inspired by Spanish ballads, not translations; in collected poems.
- 1820 John Gibson Lockhart, several translations published in various periodicals from 1820 to 1823; *Ancient Spanish Ballads*, 1823.
- 1821 *Blackwood's Magazine*, two ballads, anonymous.

¹ Erasmo Buceta, "Traducciones inglesas de romances en el primer tercio del siglo XIX," *Revue Hispanique*, LXII (1924), 459-554. This excellent study by Professor Buceta and his other contributions of a similar nature have supplied the writer of this article with much of the material for the first third of the nineteenth century.

² Luella Thurston Little, *English Translations of Spanish Ballads* (Seattle: University of Washington, 1937). This unpublished thesis supplements the work of Professor Buceta, and has also been used freely in this article.

- 1821 Sir John Bowring, eighty-nine ballads translated at various times; collected in *Ancient Poetry and Romances of Spain*, 1824.
- 1823 Jeremiah Holmes Wiffen, seven ballads translated at various times; to be found in the Preface of *The Works of Garcilasso de la Vega* and in *Foreign Review*, 1828.
- 1824 George Moir, four translations; in *Early Narrative and Lyrical Poetry of Spain*, *Edinburgh Review*, 1824.
- 1824 George Henry Borrow, three ballads; in the *Monthly Review*. Reprinted in 1835 in *Targum or Metrical Translations from Thirty Languages*. Later, *Ballads of All Nations*, with versions of two additional ballads.
- 1829 *Foreign Quarterly Review*; anonymous review of Böhl de Faber's *Florestra*, with five translations.
- 1829 William Cullen Bryant, three ballads; contained in article *Moriscan Romances*, *The Talisman*. Reprinted in *Prose Writings*, I, pp. 93-102.
- 1829 *Foreign Review*, four *Cid* ballads, by anonymous translator.
- 1832 *Fraser's Magazine*, *Romantic Poetry of Spain*, anonymous; eight ballads.
- 1833 Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *Outre-Mer*; three versions, in whole or part, in chapter on *Ancient Spanish Ballads*; *The Secret of the Sea* (Conde Arnaldos), in *The Seaside and the Fireside*, 1849.
- 1833 Caleb Cushing, *Reminiscences of Spain*; fifteen ballads, in whole or in part.
- 1845 Edward Maturin, *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, XVII, 290-96, 353-66, 433-38. Translations of twenty-two ballads. (Cited by Joseph G. Fucilla, *Spanish Poetry in English to the Year 1850*, *Hispania*, Special Number, January, 1934, pp. 38-39.)
- 1849 George Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, I, 95-141; two chapters on Old Ballads, containing eleven translations.
- 1860 Walter Thornbury, *Life in Spain*, Chapter X, *Spanish Ballads*; fragmentary translations of six ballads.
- 1867 John Oxenford, *The New Monthly Magazine*, Vol. 77, pp. 269-72.
- 1868 Sir Edmund Head, *Lady Alda's Dream* (Ballads and Poems, collected from Fraser's).
- 1883 Gerrard Lewis, *Ballads of the Cid*; thirty-four translations. (Reference supplied by Professor Morley.)
- 1887 James Young Gibson, *The Cid Ballads*, and other poems and translations from Spanish and German, London.
- 1901 Epiphanius Wilson, *Moorish Ballads* (*World's Greatest Literature*, Vol. 18, pp. 3-142); seventy-four translations.

- 1913 Sophie Jewett, Folk-ballads of Southern Europe; translation of Rico Franco.
- 1916 James Elroy Flecker, Lord Arnaldos (Collected Poems, pp. 108-109).
- 1919 J. D. M. Ford, Main Currents of Spanish Literature. In the chapter on The Ballad, pp. 33-67, are two original translations.
- 1920 Lewis Spence, Legends and Romances of Spain; some fragmentary translations.
- 1920 Ida Farnell, The Ballad of Count Arnaldos (Spanish Prose and Poetry, old and new, with translated specimens, p. 84).
- 1921 Georgiana G. King, Military Orders in Spain; two translations, pp. 92-96 and 208-12. Heart of Spain, 1841; three ballads and parts of two others in the chapter on Old Romances, pp. 76-86.
- 1927 Yvor Winters, Old Ballad, Fonte-frida; in Poetry, Vol. 29, no. 26, p. 303.
- 1937 . . . And Spain Sings; Fifty Loyalist Ballads, adapted by American poets. Edited by M. J. Benardete and Rolfe Humphries, Vanguard Press.
- 1938 Translations from Hispanic Poets, Hispanic Society of America; eight ballads, pp. 20-34; other poems in ballad measure.
- 1939 W. J. Entwistle, European Balladry; several original translations, some in assonance.³

THOMAS PERCY, BISHOP OF DROMORE (1729-1811)

As a young man Percy became deeply interested in Spanish literature, particularly Cervantes' masterpiece, and for some time entertained the idea of a critical edition of *Don Quixote*, with copious editorial comment. The many references to the *romances* that he found in the novel and his growing interest in English ballads naturally turned his attention to those of Spain. For his own amusement he translated some of them, and when, in 1765, he published his *Reliques*, he inserted two of his translations at the end of Book III, Volume I. Ten years later he made or revised other translations with the purpose of publishing a collection of *Moorish Ballads*. Although this plan fell through, five translations were preserved among his personal papers, and have been published recently, along with the two that had already appeared in print more than a century and a half earlier. *The Gentle River* is still his best translation; and because of its importance the first three quatrains are given here.

³ This list of translations is, of course, incomplete. There are undoubtedly many scattered translations that have not been noted either by the writer of this article, or by Professors Morley, Buceta, Fucilla, and Mrs. Little, to all of whom the writer is indebted for entries.

Gentle river, gentle river,	¡Río-Verde, Río-Verde!
Lo, thy streams are stained with gore,	¡cuánto cuerpo en ti se baña
Many a brave and noble captain	de cristianos y de moros,
Floats along thy willow'd shore.	muerdos por la dura espada!
All beside thy limpid waters,	Y tus ondas cristalinas
All beside thy sands so bright,	de roja sangre se esmaltan;
Moorish chiefs and Christian warriors	entre moros y cristianos
Joined in fierce and mortal fight.	se trabó muy gran batalla.
Lords and dukes and noble princes	Murieron duques y condes,
On thy fatal banks were slain;	grandes señores de salva,
Fatal banks that gave to slaughter	murió gente de valía
All the pride and flower of Spain. . .	de la nobleza de España. . .

This translation, described by Lockhart as "the exquisite version by the Bishop of Dromore" (*Spanish Ballads*, p. 102), became the model for many later translations. The trochaic meter, in lines of seven and eight syllables with a strong stress on the seventh, imitates the rhythm of the original; consonantal rime replaces the assonance, *á-a*, of the *romance*. The smooth-flowing verses present the content of the ballad with notable accuracy, except for the first line. The translator, in an introductory note, apologizes for this inaccuracy: "'Verdant river, verdant river,' would have given an affected stiffness to the verse, the great merit of which is its easy simplicity." Had he known that Río-Verde is a proper name, he would have kept the original Spanish, as Longfellow did later in his translation of the same lines. Otherwise, Longfellow did not improve upon Percy's translation.

JOHN PINKERTON (1758-1826)

Although the translations by John Pinkerton, Scottish historian and poet, of six romances from the *Guerras Civiles de Granada* have little intrinsic value, they have some importance as being among the first recorded attempts to present Spanish ballads in English. They may be found in the introduction to his collection of Scotch ballads, *Select Scottish Ballads* (second edition, 1783; enlarged from the edition of two years earlier), I, xlvii-lxvii. In the first two dissertations that make up the introduction, "On the Oral Tradition of Poetry," some references are made to Spanish ballads, and it is to illustrate these that he offers his translations.

His comments show little real understanding of Spanish balladry: "The common ballad stanza is so simple, that it has been used by most nations as the first mode of constructing rimes. The Spanish romances bear a great resemblance in this, as in other respects, to the Scottish Ballads. In both, every alternate line ends with similar vowels, though the consonants are not so strictly attended to." He then gives examples of assonance from Spanish and Scottish ballads, failing to note that what was sporadic and unintentional in the Scottish ballads was a definite, conscious technique in the Spanish.

His illustration is hardly more enlightening than his comments. "The first translation is merely meant to convey to the reader an idea of the verse in which most of the originals are written." The octosyllabic lines with trochaic movement and a strong stress on the seventh syllable imitate quite well the rhythm of the original ballad; his double rimes, changing with each quatrain, do not reproduce the uniform assonance, *á-a*, of the *romance*. The first two quatrains are as follows:

At the pleasant dawn of morning
Moorish knights in numbers sally,
To maintain a solemn turney
In Granada's verdant valley.
Justing they wheel their fleet horses;
On his lance each warrior steady
Bears a rich and beauteous penon,
Wrought with art by his fair lady. . . .

La mañana de San Juan,
a punto que alboreaba,
grande fiesta hacen los moros
por la vega de Granada.
Revolviendo sus caballos
jugando van de las lanzas,
ricos pendones en ellas
labrados por sus amadas. . . .

One other editorial comment may be noted in passing. "Having in the first of the foregoing Dissertations mentioned with applause the Spanish Ballads or Romanzes, contained in the *Historia de las Guerras Civiles de Granada*, and that book being seldom to be met with, and written in a language of no wide study, the Editor has been induced to give a few translations from that work; the two which Dr. Percy has published having rather excited than gratified curiosity" (*ibid.*, p. xlv). Here we find no reference to Carter's translation six years earlier; we note, too, that the great interest of a few years later in Spanish literature was hardly beginning, and that only two of Percy's translations were generally known.

THOMAS RODD (1763-1822)

The first name presented by Professor Buceta is that of Thomas Rodd, the first English translator to publish a whole volume of Spanish ballads. During a three years' residence in southern Spain in his father's countinghouse at Alicante he became acquainted with Spanish literature, and after his return to London published, in 1801, two books, a translation of the *Guerras Civiles* of Pérez de Hita and *Ancient Ballads from the Civil Wars of Granada and the Twelve Peers of France*. Eleven years later he published in two volumes his *History of Charles the Great and Orlando*, with several translations of illustrative ballads. The sources of sixty-one ballads in these four volumes are listed by Buceta; the originals of several others he was not able to find, for the reason, perhaps, that the author "las sacó de su propia Minerva." Ballad XXXVII (*Ancient Ballads*, pp. 132-35) is entitled *Gentle River*, by Dr. Percy. Ballad VI, *Alcanzor and Zayda*, was also borrowed from Percy's *Reliques*, with a few insignificant changes, but without acknowledgment.

It is quite evident that Percy's *Gentle River* served him as a model, and this model he followed with mechanical regularity. In quatrains of eight and seven syllables, trochaic movement, even lines riming, he conveys the content of the original ballads with sufficient accuracy. Although his translations lack distinction as poetry, they deserve some attention for their conscientious workmanship.

OTHER TRANSLATORS BEFORE LOCKHART

Close political relations with Spain in the early years of the nineteenth century turned the attention of all England and Scotland to their staunch ally in the last phases of the Napoleonic Wars. This revival of interest in the Peninsula was reflected, naturally, in English literature. Statesmen and diplomatists, as well as men of letters, became acquainted with Spanish literature; and no aspect of this literature appealed to them more deeply than the *romances*. A glance at the chronological list of translators between the years 1801 and 1823 will at once reveal the names of some of the outstanding men of the time; and if they are of secondary importance in this survey, it is only because of the scantiness of their contribution in this particular field of art. John Hookham Frere (1769-1846), twice minister to Spain and a lifelong admirer of all things Spanish, was a poet of unsurpassed genius in the art of translation, proof of which may be found in his translations of several plays of Aristophanes and fragments of the *Poema del Cid*; and it is to be regretted that he translated only two *romances*. One of them, *The King of Aragon* (*Miraba de Campoviejo . . .*), has been acclaimed by critics as a masterpiece. Another diplomatist and member of the best English aristocracy, Henry Richard Vassall Fox, Lord Holland (1773-1840), resided several years in Spain and, like Frere, became an enthusiastic admirer of Spanish culture. He was particularly interested in the *comedias* of the *Siglo de Oro* and in 1806 published *Some Account of the Life and Writings of Lope Felix de Vega Carpio*. An enlarged second edition appeared in 1817, with comments on Guillén de Castro. It is in this second edition that we find two fine translations of Morisco ballads and eight of the ballad sources of the *Mocedades del Cid*. Another lord, the most famous poet of his time, Lord Byron (1788-1824), was attracted to "romantic Spain" and found there poetic inspiration and material for a considerable amount of his poetry. His translation, or rather adaptation, of three *romances* in *A Very Mournful Ballad on the Siege and Conquest of Alhama* is widely known. Another poet whose name could have appeared in the same paragraph with that of Byron in the second decade of the last century with much less incongruity than now was Mrs. Felicia Hemans (1793-1835). She did not translate any *ro-*

mances directly, but the content of several of them reappears in her spirited ballads on the Cid, Bernardo del Carpio, and other ballad heroes.

Recognized as a most skillful metrist was the famous Matthew Gregory ("Monk") Lewis (1775-1818), whose translations of six ballads are notable for their smooth-flowing rhythms and complicated rime-schemes. Of similar technique is *The Death of Don Pedro* by Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832), a spirited translation, infinitely better than the one that he inserted in his review of Southey's *Chronicle of the Cid*, in the *Quarterly Review*, February, 1809.

Robert Southey (1774-1843) is one of the most disappointing of all the ballad translators. So much could have been expected of him, and we have so little! He was a poet in his own right and the author of several delightful ballads; he was the outstanding Hispanist of his time, the author of *Roderick the Goth*, the editor and translator of the *Chronicle of the Cid* and *Amadis of Gaul*; but for some strange reason he did not like the *romances*. In the preface to his *Chronicle of the Cid*, after praising the *Poema* as the oldest and finest poem in Spanish, he goes on to explain why he did not make more use of the Cid ballads as a source of information: "Very few of them appear to me to bear any marks of antiquity, and the greater part are utterly worthless. Indeed the heroic ballads of the Spaniards have been over-rated in this country; they are infinitely and every way inferior to our own. There are some spirited ones in the *Guerras Civiles de Granada*, from which the rest have been estimated; but excepting these, I know none of any value among the many hundreds which I have perused." Here speaks the typical Englishman, later poet laureate, measuring all things foreign by English standards! Fortunately for the prestige of the old ballads of Spain, his disparaging comments are usually cited as a curiosity of literary criticism, and not as the accepted appraisal of a reliable critic. In the *Romancero del Cid* are many mediocre ballads; many of them, however, are worthy of the attention given them by later translators. As for his sweeping statement regarding other ballads, it is, of course, too absurd to be taken seriously.

In view of his low opinion of Spanish ballads, it is not surprising that he translated only six; and they are not so good as might have been expected. Southey was a bold experimenter in verse technique, and did much toward freeing Romantic poetry from the bonds of eighteenth-century meters. At the time he made some of his translations he was experimenting with unrimed metrical forms in lines other than the usual pentameter of blank verse, and this may explain why he did not use rime in otherwise good translations. If any kind of poetry needs rime, it is surely the ballad. His translation of *Abenámár*, the finest of all Spanish ballads in his opinion, conveys

adequately the content and rhythm of the original; had he used some kind of rime, consonantal or assonant, and smoothed out two or three halting lines, he might have given us an ideal translation. Similar comments would apply to his *Loss of Alhama*, characterized by his usual vigorous and direct diction, but severely handicapped by the avoidance of rime.

JOHN GIBSON LOCKHART (1794-1854)

There was every reason why Lockhart should become one of the best translators of Spanish ballads. When he was beginning his literary career, Romanticism was in full tide, and authors imbued with Romanticism were eagerly looking to primitive literatures for poetic inspiration. Ancient ballads were being collected and new ballads written in imitation of the old. In Germany particularly, where young Lockhart continued his studies, the popular ballads of Spain were receiving enthusiastic attention; and he is believed to have taken back with him, when he returned to England in 1817, a copy of the large collection of *romances* that had just been published there by Depping. At home the deep interest in Spain among his older literary friends had not subsided, and the demand for literary treatment of Spanish themes was still insistent. At first Lockhart was ambitious to emulate in original compositions the successes of his friends. He had a sure literary taste, a fine feeling for poetry, and notable mastery of verse technique; but he lacked creative imagination and had insufficient confidence in his own ability. He turned to journalism, literary criticism, and biography for a livelihood; and to the translation of Spanish ballads he applied poetic gifts that had barely failed to make him a good original poet. These translations, published for the most part in *Blackwood's Magazine* and in the editorial introduction to Motteux's *Don Quixote*, appeared in book form in 1823 with the title *Ancient Spanish Ballads*. Its popularity was immediate, and numerous editions since attest its permanency among English classics.

It may be taken for granted that Lockhart was acquainted with the classic treatise on the art of translation, the *Essay on the Principles of Translation*, published about a quarter of a century earlier by another Scotchman, Alexander Fraser Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee; if so, he accepted wholeheartedly only the third of the three laws of translation set down by Tytler, namely, "That the translation should have all the ease of original composition." The other two, "That the translation should give a complete transcript of the ideas of the original work," and "That the style and manner of writing should be of the same character with that of the original," he was willing to accept only in so far as they did not interfere with the

third principle. His own ideas on translation may be found here and there in his critical writings. In a review of Wright's translation of Dante's *Inferno* (*Quarterly Review*, July, 1833), commenting upon the difficult art of translation, he says: "The poet who grapples . . . with the conceptions of another poet cuts the knot by recasting them in his own mind, and producing, as a translation, what is in fact a new poem. . . ." Some of his own translations illustrate this theory of re-creation; most of them are, however, translations, even though they do produce the effect of original compositions.

Lockhart was well aware of the fundamental differences between Spanish versification and English; and since he was more concerned with producing a good poem than with preserving the poetic form of the original, he took from the old English and Scottish ballads the riming couplet of seven iambic feet, with cesura after the fourth foot of each line. Out of these septenary lines he made stanzas of two, four, six, and eight verses, usually four, riming *a a b b*. To avoid monotony, he varied this pattern by dropping the eighth syllable, by substituting an occasional anapest for an iambic, and by changing the rhythm from iambic to trochaic; thus the regular fourteen-syllable line may become a line of twelve, thirteen, or fifteen syllables. In one notable translation, *The Vengeance of Mudarra*, the rhythmic pattern consists of six-line stanzas, with four anapests in each line. In *The False Queen* and *Count Arnaldos* he uses the trochaic, octosyllabic line favored by the earlier translators, a form quite similar to that of the *romance* line.

The reason given above for Lockhart's choice of the line of seven iambic feet as the pattern for most of his translations is not the one he gives in the introduction to his *Spanish Ballads*. "The distinguished German antiquarian, Mr. Grimm, who has published a little *sylva* of Spanish ballads, expresses his opinion that the stanza was composed in reality of two long lines, and that these had subsequently been cut into four, exactly as we know to have been the case in regard to our own old English ballad-stanza. Mr. Grimm, in his small but very elegant collection, prints the Spanish verses in what he supposes to have been their original shape; and I have followed his example in the form of the stanza which I have for the most part used in my translations. . . ."

With regard to rime, Lockhart was not tempted to imitate the assonance of the Spanish originals. "In a language less abundant in harmonious vocables, such laxity could scarcely have satisfied the ear." From this and other references, it is quite evident that he did not fully appreciate assonance as a definite type of rime in Spanish poetry.

Lockhart frequently improved upon the original ballads by omitting superfluous details or by enriching and vivifying a dramatic

situation with details from his own imagination. He was not always successful in his contractions and expansions, and the cases of misinterpretation are sufficiently numerous to suggest that his knowledge of Spanish was not quite adequate. Only one will be mentioned, an error that was fatal to his translation considered as a translation rather than as an original ballad. In *La niña morena—que yendo a la fuente*, he evidently mistook *morena* for *mora* and proceeded to change completely a Spanish pastoral into a Moorish ballad (*Zara's Ear-rings*, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-17).

Some ballad translators—Byron, Longfellow, Southey, Bryant—wrote better original poetry than Lockhart; others—Gibson, Cushing, Bowring—surpassed him in the finished technique of their verse; none of them entered so completely into the spirit of the ballads. The poetic inspiration of his best translations still gives to his *Ancient Spanish Ballads* first place in Spanish ballad translations; and the high praise given him by Ticknor may be considered a just tribute to his genius as a translator.

OTHER TRANSLATIONS BEFORE GIBSON

While Lockhart was working upon his translations, another eminent scholar and poet, quite independently and in a different manner, was diligently translating Spanish poetry into English verse. A year after the publication of *Ancient Spanish Ballads* appeared a larger volume, *Ancient Poetry and Romances of Spain*, by John Bowring, later known as Sir John (1792-1872).

Bowring became interested early in foreign languages, and while still in his youth conceived the ambitious idea of collecting and translating, with the aid of other linguists, representative poetry of all nations. His financial, political, and diplomatic activities kept him from carrying out his plan; but his verse translations from many languages and his own original poems and hymns attest his lifelong interest in poetry. Three years after publishing in *The Introspective Review* in 1821 an article on Spanish poetry with illustrative specimens, he published his translations in a volume of three hundred and twenty-eight pages.

More than half the volume is composed of translations from fifty-seven Spanish poets, mostly lyrical; of the eighty-nine translations of anonymous poems, supposedly ballads, Buceta was able to discover the sources of thirty-eight. Most of the ballads translated are of the type known as *romances novelescos*, in which the lyric element is particularly noticeable.

They are translated as accurately as could be expected, and their simple directness and spontaneity are preserved. As to verse technique, five types are found in the following order of frequency: four-stress, iambic lines, with occasional trochees and anapests; eight and

seven syllables, trochaic movement, with primary stress on the seventh; six-syllable iambs; nine and eight syllables, iambic and trochaic, with stress regularly on the eighth; nine and seven alternating, trochaic movement, with occasional iambs and anapests. The best translations follow the second type, closely imitating the rhythm of the originals; many of those of the first type are marred by halting rhythm and are difficult to read aloud without frequent wrenching of natural stresses. With few exceptions, there is no stanzaic division, although the riming even lines would suggest the usual quatrain arrangement.

The preceding comments could best be illustrated by his most successful translations: *Fount of Freshness*, *I Was a Moorish Maid*, *Count Arnaldos*, *The Luckless Knight*, and many others equally charming in their lyric appeal. Most readers enjoy their naïve directness and grace, if they are fortunate enough to have access to a copy of *Ancient Poetry and Romances of Spain*, a book that is now difficult to obtain.

Although Bowring used consonantal rime in most of his translations, his recognition of assonance as an essential characteristic of the *romance* led him into riming experiments that seem incredibly futile in view of his undoubted ability as a poet. There is not space here to treat of them and other similar experiments; and since it is the intention of the writer to devote a whole article to Spanish assonance and the possibility of its naturalization in English poetry, further comment is reserved. Of Bowring it may be said that some of his translations are poetic gems, and even those that attempt to imitate Spanish assonance possess lyric charm in spite of their faulty rimes.

During the same third decade of the century other translations, some of them anonymous, were appearing from time to time in literary periodicals. The authorship of some of the anonymous translations has been cleared up by Professor Buceta. Of the known translators, the most famous name is that of George Henry Borrow (1803-1881)—famous, be it said, for reasons other than his ballad translations; these are, indeed, disappointing. The author of one of the best travel books ever written, *The Bible in Spain* (1843), had a pugnacious character that gained for him admiring friends and bitter enemies; his restless spirit took him to many countries and into many literatures. That he had poetic imagination is quite evident to anyone familiar with the pages of eloquent, poetic prose scattered through his writings; but his fractious muse would not submit to the limitations of the usual ballad technique. His five translations, vigorous though technically faulty, may easily be found in his *Ballads of All Nations*.

With the ebbing in England of interest in Spanish literature, it reached its flood tide across the ocean in New England. Irving, Prescott, Ticknor, Longfellow, to mention only the outstanding writers on the life and literature of Spain, were not primarily interested in the *romances* and were more concerned with original composition than with translation. The *romances* did receive, however, some attention; and although translations did not appear then or later in volume commensurate with that of English and Scottish translations, many single ballads were given adequate treatment.

The first of our poets to translate *romances* was quite fittingly William Cullen Bryant (1794-1878). In *The Talisman* for 1829 appeared his article, "Moriscan Romances," with illustrative translations of three ballads, now easily accessible in his *Prose Writings*, I, 93-102. Of the three, the best is *The Death of Aliatar*, comparable with, but not surpassing, the fine translation of the same ballad by Lord Holland. If space permitted, these two translations might well be set down side by side; one in four-stress, iambic lines, with trochaic variations; the other in seven-stress iambs, varied with anapests: two different rhythmic patterns, equally effective.

The extraordinary skill of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-1882) as a translator of foreign poetry has been recognized since the publication of his volume of translations in 1833. Original versions, more or less fragmentary, of three *romances* were used for illustration in his chapter on "Ancient Spanish Ballads" in *Outre-Mer* (1833). Later, in a collection of poems called *The Seaside and the Fireside* (1849) appeared *The Secret of the Sea*, partly adapted and partly translated from the beautiful ballad of Count Arnaldos. So smooth and spontaneous are his translations that they might easily pass for original compositions.

Longfellow set down his theory of verse translation as a preface to his well-known translations of the *Coplas* of Jorge Manrique. Rather than comment upon this here, we quote the last lines of the paragraph in *Outre-Mer*, in which he refutes Southey's disparaging comments on the *romances*. ". . . That the old Spanish ballads are infinitely and every way inferior to the English, and that among them all there are none of any value, save a few which celebrate the civil wars of Granada—this I deny. I think the *March of Bernardo del Carpio* is equal to *Chevy Chase*; and that the ballad of the *Conde Alarcos*, in simplicity and pathos, has no peer in all English balladry—it is superior to *Edem o' Gordon*. In proof of this opinion, I confidently appeal to the ballads themselves—nay, even to the short specimens that have been given in this essay."

In the same year in which Longfellow published his *Outre-Mer* appeared *Reminiscences of Spain, the Country, Its People, History and Monuments* by Caleb Cushing (1800-1879). These two volumes

by a young man who was later to become attorney-general and minister to Spain, the "most eminent scholar of his day," according to Emerson, did not receive the attention they deserved, probably for the reason that Irving's *Tales of the Alhambra*, just published, eclipsed them in literary interest. In his *Reminiscences* are inserted fifteen ballad translations, treating mainly of Bernardo del Carpio and other heroes of legendary Spain. Cushing's translations are good, but not distinguished; they have the flawless technique of a careful craftsman; what they lack is poetic inspiration.

One other American must be given special consideration: George Ticknor (1791-1871). In his justly famous *History of Spanish Literature*, in the two chapters of the first volume that treat of the *Romancero*, eleven of the translations that he gives in illustration are his own. In four of them he follows the most popular ballad pattern, alternating lines of four and three iambs; in three, all the lines have four stresses; two have octosyllabic verses in the Spanish manner; one is a sprightly translation of a six-syllable ballad into lines of five and six syllables, mostly anapestic. All but two have the continuous verse arrangement of the *romances*; the rimes, however, and the pauses, suggest the usual division into quatrains. As has already been said of Cushing, Ticknor's translations are good, but not distinguished, and are accurate and stylistically correct; what they lack is the "divine spark." None of them is so good as Sir Edmund Head's version of *Lady Alda's Dream*, used for illustration by Ticknor with a tribute of praise for the author.

JAMES YOUNG GIBSON (1826-1886)

Lockhart's rival for first place among the translators of Spanish ballads is another Scotchman, James Young Gibson. Until his forty-fifth year Gibson's main interest in foreign literature was in Greek and German; then, in 1871, he visited Spain and began the study of Spanish literature with such enthusiasm that henceforth he gave little thought to any other. His traveling companion was Duffield, the translator of *Don Quijote*; and when this translation was published in 1881, it became known that Gibson was responsible for all the poetical versions. Encouraged by the favorable comments regarding his verse translations, he undertook the more arduous task of translating Cervantes' *Viaje del Parnaso*, published two years later. In 1885 appeared his fine translation of Cervantes' great tragedy *Numancia*, the last of his translations to be published in his lifetime. His ballad translations, made during the course of several years during which he was busily occupied with Cervantes, were left in manuscript, and were not published until 1887 (two volumes; one-volume edition, 1898).

The Cid Ballads, and Other Poems and Translations from Spanish and German is a volume of six hundred pages, containing eighty-one Cid ballads, six historical ballads, seven from the Carolingian cycle, nine from the *Romances fronterizos y moriscos*, twenty-eight *Romances of Chivalry, Philosophy and Love*, poems from the *Don Quijote*, some from the German, and several original compositions.

Gibson would seem to have used in his translations all the verse forms that he found in the old English and Scottish ballads, with some of his own invention; and a detailed study of his technique would present a résumé of the methods used by almost all the ballad translators. Without space for adequate illustration, such an analysis would be out of place here. His favorite pattern for the Cid ballads was the quatrain of alternating lines of four and three iambic feet; all but ten of the eighty-one ballads of this group follow the pattern, with slight variations, presented by the first four lines of the well-known *romance*:

Hélo, hélo, por do viene
el moro por la calzada,
caballero a la ginetá
encima una yegua baya. . . .

He comes, he comes, the Moorman comes
Along the sounding way;
With stirrup short, and pointed spur,
He rides his gallant bay. . . .

Frequently the eighth syllable is dropped in the first line, and sometimes in the third. In seven of the ballads the catalectic verses are so numerous that they suggest a new pattern rather than variations. In some, eight-syllable lines are used; in *The Bastard Mudarra* these are very effectively combined with seven-syllable lines into stanzas varying in length from eight to twelve verses. In *Abenámar* and in three or four others, the trochaic movement imitates the rhythm of the originals as closely as could be expected, in view of the fundamental differences between English and Spanish versification. The last ten lines of *Abenámar* will serve for comparison:

Allí habló el rey don Juan,
Bien oiréis lo que decía:
— Si tú quisieses, Granada,
contigo me casaría;
daréte en arras y dote
a Córdoba y a Sevilla.—
— Casada soy, rey don Juan,
casada soy, que no viuda;
el moro que a mí me tiene,
muy grande bien me quería.

Up and spake the good King John,
To the Moor he thus replied:
' Art thou willing, O Granada,
I will woo thee for my bride;
Cordova shall be thy dowry,
And Sevilla by its side.'
' I'm no widow, good King John,
I am still a wedded wife;
And the Moor who is my husband,
Loves me better than his life!'

In twelve of the ballads following the *Romancero del Cid*, the long line popularized by Lockhart, usually with seven stresses and cesural pause after the fourth, is used with good effect. Monotony is avoided by occasional catalectic hemistichs, or the substitution of a trochee or an anapest for the iambus. In *The Avenging Child* anapests are used

so frequently that the pattern changes from a fourteen-syllable line to one of seventeen and eighteen syllables.

Taken as a whole, Gibson's translations, especially of the *Cid* ballads, are in some ways superior to those of Lockhart. They are just as spirited and spontaneous, and have the added advantage of much greater faithfulness to the originals. They disprove, too, the harsh and unjust criticism that Southey had made of the *Romancero del Cid*.

No other names in the "Chronology of Ballad Translations" need be singled out for special comment. The enthusiastic interest that Spain aroused in our Romantics has continued to supply material for books of travel, literary essays, scholarly articles, and histories; and the *romancero* has received its due share of attention. As for translations, the few good ones that have appeared from time to time have served mainly for illustrative purposes. Of the two fairly large collections mentioned in the chronology, the *Moorish Ballads* of Epiphanius Wilson lack distinction; the title of the second, *And Spain Sings*, serves mainly to call attention to the conspicuous lack of any "singing quality" in most of the translations.

There has been published in this country no collection of Spanish ballads comparable to those of Lockhart, Bowring, and Gibson. And in England and Scotland, with the notable exception of Gibson's *The Cid Ballads*, only scattered translations have appeared during the last hundred years. It may be said, then, in concluding the first part of this study, that the third decade of the nineteenth century has remained the most productive period in the history of Spanish ballads in English.

(To be continued)

REVIEWS

The English Strong Verb from Chaucer to Caxton. By MARY McDONALD LONG. New York University dissertation. Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Co., 1944. Pp. xvi + 314.

This work undertakes to fill in the gap between ablaut studies of the strong verb through the time of Chaucer and the study by Price of ablaut in strong verbs from Caxton to the end of the Elizabethan period. It handles a large number of forms—some fifteen thousand from forty documents covering in content diaries, letters, records, literary prose, and poetry, and including all dialects except Kentish.

The organization of the book is good. It consists of an introduction treating scope and method, a list of documents used, a bibliography, a list of text references, the main body of the work in seven chapters according to the order of the seven classes of strong verbs, a list of ablaut patterns, a section on general characteristics and trends, appendices containing statistical tables, paradigms of preterite present and anomalous verbs, a list of compound verbs, and at the end an index of verbs. Each of the main chapters dealing with the seven classes is also well arranged; after each verb discussed there follow in order all forms documented for infinitive, present indicative and subjunctive, imperative, present participle, preterite indicative, and past participle. Following these lists, for each verb there is a discussion of noteworthy forms.

Some minor matters call for comment. (1) In touching on the pronunciation of vowels, the author's remarks on the nature and length of vowel denoted by the letter *e* in the past participle of class one are confusing; for example, *e* is considered to be a variant for short *i* in *betyn* (p. 7), to represent a lengthened vowel in *strekyn* (p. 25), to be a symbol for short *i* in *strevyn* (p. 26), to indicate the vowel shift from *i* to *ē* in *smetin* (p. 23), to appear for long *i* in *schrevyn* (p. 21); and it is remarked on p. 31 that the purely orthographical use of *e* for *i* may be frequently suspected. (2) In the list of compound verbs (pp. 308-09) eleven are given in italics to indicate that they are not entered in *NED*. However, some of the eleven are entered there: *ontake* is entered under *on—*, 2; *outcarve* is entered under *out—*, 15; *upsmite* is entered under *up—*, III, 4, from the passage cited in the work here reviewed. (3) While it appears from the use of a large number of documentations that the work has been carefully done, here and there one meets with difficulties; the abbreviation FF in the text references will be found to be equivalent to FP in the text, and one will look in vain for the passages documented as LM 563/561 and LM 638/28822 cited on p. 17.

The author is to be commended for making her work much more than the documentation of a mass of forms; throughout the work

comment and discussion lighten the lists of forms, and her general summary seeks the main trends to be inferred from these forms. In this summary it is noted that the strong verbs of the fifteenth century show a survival of old forms more than an introduction of new ones, that innovation is Northern, and conservatism, Southern, and that analogy has played a large part in the various changes. Here one will note especially the new formation in the second person preterite singular.

The book makes readily accessible a large amount of scattered material and fills, as the author hoped it would, a gap in studies of the English strong verb.

HERBERT MERITT

Stanford University

Shakespeare and the Tragic Theme. By ARTHUR H. R. FAIRCHILD. Columbia: University of Missouri Studies, Vol. XIX, No. 2, 1944. Pp. 145. \$1.50.

The central issue in Shakespeare's tragedy is that between passion and reason, or as restated by Professor Fairchild, an issue, "not between good and evil, but between sentimentalism and will." The author's aim is to interpret this theme critically and to present Shakespeare as a "significant participant in a movement of thought," superseding his contemporaries in the independence of his reactions upon the ideas and issues of his time. In realization of his aim, the author devotes Part One of his study to *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *King Lear*, and *Macbeth*. Here is distinguished writing. We may not accept unreservedly the adolescence of Hamlet or the sudden transformation of Macbeth from an extrovert to an introvert, but we shall find independent and informed judgment and acute and penetrating comment on character and situation.

Part Two is less convincing and more provocative. We are assured that "the unwritten story that Shakespeare implied . . . is more important than the written story," and that "in the unwritten story Shakespeare has given us a new vision of an universal order." Are we not near the realm of conjecture here? We may inquire whether the assumption of such a new order has a demonstrable basis in the text. Norms or standards implied in drama, if it is to be successful, must be easily comprehensible, at least to the more intelligent auditors. Is it not more likely that the dramatist would make use of ideas of a universal order already well known rather than the new and untried? Theodore Spencer's *Shakespeare and the Nature of Man* (1942), and E. M. W. Tillyard's *The Elizabethan World Picture* (1944)—studies that may profitably be read along with Professor Fairchild's work—offer a satisfactory answer to this query.

Shakespeare's conception of a cosmic order in which the tragic characters are all participants, Professor Fairchild elaborates in the final chapter. This order or system "is a-moral or non-moral in its indifference to all human values." "It is remorseless and ruthless, devoid of justice, mercy, or pity." It "proceeds by law; and that law is cause and effect" (pp. 120-21). Perhaps Shakespeare personally held this very modern, almost scientific, view of the cosmos. But the cosmic order which Fairchild here adumbrates was not that of Shakespeare's world. The view of a divinely ordered cosmos, explained by Elyot, Case, La Primaudaye, and others, is the conception dramatically employed by Shakespeare in *Troilus and Cressida*, *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, and other plays. Perhaps the dramatist utterly rejected the age-old conception and assumed as a basis for his own thinking the kind of order suggested by Fairchild. Can we be sure that he did so? This is the "sixty-four-dollar" question.

Illuminating as is the author's sketch of backgrounds (pp. 91 ff.), there is no mention of the sixteenth-century books in which the ideas of Homer, Plato, Aristotle, and the Italian writers were given currency. Elyot's *Gouverneur*, Case's *Sphaera Civitatis*, La Primaudaye's *French Academie*, all set forth the world picture or cosmic order; and the last-named work treats at length the theme of reason and passion. The same theme is also recurrent in Renaissance drama, one play, at least—Medwall's *Nature*—presenting it from a purely ethical standpoint. Here at any rate is preparation for Shakespeare's treatment of the theme.

The substitution of the term *sentimentalism* for *passion*, and the restatement of the theme as one between sentimentalism and will, do not seem very satisfactory, even to the author himself. He tends to return from time to time to the terms *reason* and *passion*.

Having substituted *sentimentalism* for *passion*, Professor Fairchild finds that Shakespeare's principal tragic characters are sentimentalists with four invariable marks or modes of reaction in their individual crises: "absoluteness of mind, aversion to fact and truth, egoism and self-pity, and homicidal mania" (p. 114). There seems some strain in showing how these invariable marks are applicable to the four tragedies studied. But the author insists that these marks are to be found in all Shakespeare's protagonists. We may inquire how they are exemplified in *Antony and Cleopatra*—a play we might expect the author to discuss in considering the reason and passion theme.

Strictures and queries aside, it must be said that Professor Fairchild's book is a contribution to Shakespeare scholarship. It is fresh in its approach, thoughtful, stimulating, provocative, and most likely to cause us to read Shakespeare anew.

D. T. STARNES

University of Texas

The Theory of the Epic in England, 1650-1800. By H. T. SWEDENBERG, JR. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Publications in English, Vol. XV, 1944. Pp. xiv + 396. \$4.00.

This study presents a detailed survey of an important body of thought. The book is divided into three main sections. Part I, "Backgrounds," covers rapidly the leading epic theorists of classical and Renaissance times, including the French critics through Le Bossu. Part II, "Development," is devoted to English critics from Davenant on.¹ Hobbes in 1650 to John Ogilvie in 1801, with a short concluding chapter on "Currents of Eighteenth-Century Thought Reflected in the Theory of the Epic." Part III, "Themes," covers from a different point of view the same material treated in Part II: here it is presented by direct quotation rather than by summary or abstract, and is organized not by authors but by topics, under such headings as "Definition," "Moral," "Machines," and the like. Brief introductory passages summarize the tendency of opinion on each topic and provide cross-references to relevant quotations included under other headings. A selective bibliography and an index complete the volume. The evidence throughout the study has been laboriously gathered and accurately transcribed; it is clearly presented in a well-printed and readable volume. In spite of these merits, the book is decidedly disappointing.

The defects of the study are apparent in Part I, on classical and Renaissance criticism. Mr. Swedenberg's account is accurate as to fact, but his interpretations are superficial. The critics are summarized by listing their doctrines; there is no attempt to disentangle the principles which underlie these details, which bind them together in a coherent critical position, and which distinguish one critic or school of critics from another. The brevity of this section is natural in a book on the eighteenth-century critics; as Mr. Swedenberg says (p. viii), Part I does not pretend to be exhaustive. But the superficiality of his treatment prevents the establishment of any general concepts which will help to interpret and distinguish the later critics.

In Part II, Mr. Swedenberg proceeds for the most part in the same manner, by a method of simple abstract, so that the critics tend to become mere bundles of unrelated particular ideas. On this basis they can be distinguished only by the number of ancient rules which they accepted or rejected. This appears to be the ground of distinction in the summary at the end of Chapter IV:

A retrospective glance at the materials published in the last fifty years of the eighteenth century indicates that the critics of the epic in this period may be classified roughly in three groups: a group which held to established principles, a group which tended to compromise with them, and a group which rejected them altogether (p. 134).

Such a classification is too rough to have much value. As Mr. Swedenberg remarks, there were few at any time between 1650 and 1800 who "followed slavishly the dictates of authority and artificial rules"

(p. 57), and even the most rebellious—Bishop Hurd is cited—"adopt a principle here and there from the old theory" (p. 135). Thus the groups blur into each other, the two extremes tending to merge into the middle or "compromise" group, and in the long run no clear-cut distinctions are made.

In some places Mr. Swedenberg uses a less external basis of classification—the intellectual sanction upon which different critics founded their opinion of the rules. Following Spingarn, he distinguishes between orthodoxy, or the appeal to tradition and authority, rationalism, or the appeal to reason and common sense, and taste, or the appeal to individual judgment or emotional response (pp. 44-45, 51-52, 82-84, 118, etc.; for Swedenberg's sources see Notes, pp. 60-61, 137). These categories are supplemented in other passages by a series of antitheses between fancy and judgment, passion and reason, genius and the rules, delight and instruction, the marvelous and the probable, and the like. Though applied less systematically than the categories of authority, common sense, and taste, these antitheses are also used to distinguish the critics into groups.

In practice these distinctions seem to break down. Speaking especially of French and Italian writers, Mr. Swedenberg states that these critics "never doubted that the wonderful should be made to seem probable" (p. 34). Elsewhere Dennis is said to illustrate "the perfect blending of respect for authority and universal reason, or nature" (p. 52), and Pope's criticism is said to be marked by "good taste and good sense" (p. 70). Or again, on genius and the rules, Mr. Swedenberg says: "Almost every critic of any power had realized that mere correctness of organization could not produce a great poem" (p. 135). On his own showing, it seems obvious that the neo-classical critics appealed not to one principle alone, but to two; the ideal or standard, it would seem, was always conceived as a balance of opposites, or as a mean between extremes. If this is so, none of these critics can be confined to a single principle. Even the most conservative refuse to be pigeonholed under these headings, and the attempt to classify them on such grounds can lead only to a distortion of their views.

A more fruitful approach might have been found in the distinction, drawn by many scholars, between the practical and rhetorical tendency of the Roman critics and the method of internal, formal analysis exemplified by Aristotle. In the data assembled by Mr. Swedenberg there is much to suggest that in their fundamental assumptions the Renaissance and neo-classical critics followed the Romans rather than Aristotle. An Horatian or Ciceronian concern with effect—with teaching, pleasing, or moving an audience—might explain, for example, why so ardent a moralist as Le Bossu should insist that poetry must be delightful as well as profitable. The same principle might explain the importance assigned to "admiration"—the special pleasure supposed to be the aim of the epic *genre*—and the universal demand for the marvelous as the best source of that

effect. It would no doubt clarify the rule that fictions based on popular belief are sufficiently probable, or that pagan deities, once so effective, ought not to be represented in modern epics. Even the unity of action might be related to this principle. Thus Dennis argued that unity was necessary in order not to confuse the reader's mind, "for nothing that troubles the Memory, can instruct the Soul" (p. 221; cf. p. 198), while Blair, attacking the problem in terms of pleasure, contended that "several scattered and independent facts can never affect a Reader so deeply, nor engage his attention so strongly, as a tale that is one and connected" (p. 237; cf. Hurd's statement, p. 106). Though one appealed to profit and the other to delight, these two critics were alike in their concern for effect; as in Roman criticism, but not in Aristotle, the underlying criterion is the reaction of an audience. An analysis along these lines might have thrown light into every corner of Mr. Swedenberg's material, but in his account all these rules and concepts remain unrelated and unexplained.

The most valuable section of the book is Part III, "Themes," which Mr. Swedenberg describes as an "anthology of critical remarks" (p. ix). The two hundred pages of this section include passages from all the major critics of the period and most of the minor ones. The quotations are of substantial length—from half a page to two pages—and most of them are reproduced without internal deletions. For this convenient body of source material all students of the period will be grateful. Yet even here the book suffers to some extent from a lack of adequate interpretive concepts. There is a chapter on "Moral," for example, but none on "Pleasure," its ubiquitous twin. Discussions of admiration are scattered in many places, and treatments of the sublime, a closely related concept, are collected under "Language and Versification." In some chapters Mr. Swedenberg groups passages which might better have been separated; the unities of time and place are on a different footing from the unity of action, and discussions of narrative order seem out of place under "Unity." Thus the book suffers throughout from a failure to penetrate beneath details to the underlying principles of the body of thought with which it deals. The data are complete and accurate, but as an interpretation of this material the study is unsatisfactory.

HOYT TROWBRIDGE

University of Oregon

Professor Longfellow of Harvard. By CARL L. JOHNSON. Eugene, Oregon: University of Oregon Press, 1944. Pp. xii + 112. \$1.00.

This monograph is Number 5 in the series of Studies in Literature and Philology published by the University of Oregon. It is, however, neither a study of literature nor a study in philology. It is a clear, well-annotated, chronological outline of Longfellow's career as a teacher at Harvard. There emerges from these pages a clearer impres-

sion of Harvard College a hundred years ago than of Professor Longfellow himself.

On March 26, 1838, Longfellow wrote in his journal: "Human life is made up mostly of a series of little disappointments. . . ." Certainly his Harvard life was made up of such a series. He applied to the treasurer and then to the librarian for "another thousand dollars" for books, but received no answer. He wrote to the corporation "respectfully requesting" the purchase, for the college library, of a book by Turner on *Ancient British Poetry*, for sale at Little's for \$3.12. Professor Johnson notes, without comment, "The work by Turner is not yet in the Harvard Library." Longfellow requested the use of room Number 6 in University Hall. The request was refused. He asked to be excused from the requirement that he make monthly visits to the classrooms of each of the Modern Language instructors. "It seems . . . *espionage*." The corporation voted "that it is inexpedient" to make any change in the requirement. Longfellow asked for the use of a larger room for his public lectures. The corporation voted that it was inexpedient "to make such provision." Longfellow asked for a raise in salary for one of his instructors who, after twelve years of efficient service, was still receiving \$500 annually. "Dr. Bachi's salary remained unchanged." Longfellow recommended the appointment of a French instructor. The corporation voted: "That Mr. Longfellow be required to be sole instructor [*sic*] in French." Whereupon Longfellow asked for the French instructor's salary, but his employer voted that "it is not expedient to comply with this request." When he went abroad on leave of absence and asked for an extension of the leave, he was told: "in such case, your salary must cease."

The instances when Longfellow got what he asked for are rare. When President Quincy invited suggestions for changes in Harvard policies, Longfellow proposed "that the Study of the Modern Languages begin with the Freshman year, instead of the Sophomore year as now." His suggestion was adopted!

Fifty letters written by Longfellow between 1834 (when he was still a professor at Bowdoin College) and 1865 (after his retirement from the Harvard faculty) are transcribed in full. Some of these letters have appeared in print before, and Professor Johnson has been careful to correct some errors in the transcriptions made by his predecessors. A useful list of these letters, and of twenty-nine received by Longfellow, is given. There are six illustrations and an Index of Names.

Professor Johnson remarks (p. v) that Longfellow's "period of literary productiveness . . . began . . . shortly after he assumed the duties of Smith Professor. In the fourteen years that followed, he wrote and published ten volumes." We hear, however, little or nothing about these volumes. Similarly, we are told (p. 89) that Longfellow "prepared and delivered eight series of public lectures," the titles and dates of which are given, but nothing more. The reader who wishes information as to Professor Longfellow's use of, or

knowledge of, Schiller or Heine, of Corneille or Boileau, of Petrarch or Boccaccio, will have to go elsewhere. "Longfellow always used *Faust* as the subject of his oral instruction in German literature" (p. 87), but we learn nothing of his method or power in interpreting the poem, and little of his critical insight into it, beyond the fact (recorded in his journal on May 27, 1851) that he was "more than ever struck with the greatness of this poem."

Next to *Faust*, the works of Dante, Cervantes, and Molière seem to have received Longfellow's chief attention.

CARL J. WEBER

Colby College, Waterville, Maine

The Enjoyment of the Arts. Edited by MAX SCHOEN. New York: Philosophical Library, 1944. Pp. 318. \$5.00.

In bringing together the essays for this attractive volume, Max Schoen has provided a valuable aid to the student of aesthetics and also to the general reader who wishes to improve his appreciation. The book offers an explanation, abstract in some places and concrete in others, of the nature and ways of functioning peculiar to the different arts. The contributors are men of eminence in their various fields, a fact which at the outset establishes confidence in the mind of the reader: Thomas Munro, painting; Joseph Bailly Ellis, sculpture; Laszlo Gabor, architecture; Antonin and Charlotta Heythum, industrial arts; David Daiches, poetry; Barrett H. Clark, drama; Van Meter Ames, the novel; Milton S. Fox, movies; Glen Haydon, music; and George Boas, criticism.

The titles of the essays indicate to some extent the manner of approach. Of the nine, five have merely the names of the fields for titles; as Music, Painting, The Movies. Two use the word *enjoyment*. Mr. Schoen's introduction is on "The Realm of Art," and the final chapter by George Boas is on "The Problem of Criticism." It would have been interesting if Mr. Schoen had seen fit to give an interpretation of each article in the light of psychology. This matter is, however, pretty well taken care of by the two excellent articles by Mr. Schoen and Mr. Boas, which stand respectively at the beginning and at the end of the book, like sentinels on guard lest an unwary writer wander too far from intellectual accuracy. Whether the amount of space allotted to each article is an indication of its relative importance may be a question of no moment. But one cannot help wondering why the dance was omitted.

In reading the book one feels that the authors held different motives and had different kinds of audiences in mind, as illustrated by Dr. Munro's study of the relative values in painting, and Mr. Fox's treatment of the movies, which he calls "One of the greatest mediums for artistic expression ever devised by man." It was apparently not the general editor's purpose to limit the writers to a set pattern, even though the book might suffer somewhat from a lack of consistency in aim as a result.

The important question of standards comes in for consideration in different parts of the book. The relativity of taste is emphasized rather generally. In the introduction, Mr. Schoen goes so far as to recognize different levels in aesthetic value, but avoids the use of such words as superior and inferior. He allows for different grades of "sensory equipment," but does not permit any belittling of the person who happens to be poorly endowed in that respect. Thus a kind of Bill of Rights is established for the spectator. Some of the writers, however, leave one with the feeling that they believe theoretically in the relativity of taste but practically in hierarchies. Some talk unblushingly about the "good" and the "bad."

Matters would be clarified in several of the articles by an application of the concepts set forth by Mr. Daiches in his essay on poetry. I am thinking of the matter of expression in art. He makes it clear that as an artist you do not set out to "express" something which you possess in advance, but rather—to use his own illustration—"You sit down with a potential subject which becomes more specific and more universal (simultaneously) in proportion as it becomes not the subject x with which the poet had started but a complex xa , a unique organic product of subject and medium." It seems to me that this principle is fundamental, and that it is not sufficiently taken into account in several parts of the book.

WALTER ISAACS

University of Washington

From These Roots: The Ideas That Have Made Modern Literature.

By MARY M. COLUM. New York: Columbia University Press, Second Printing, 1944. Pp. 386. \$2.50.

The second printing of Mrs. Colum's account of modern literature (first edition, 1937) testifies, I think, to more than the competence of her scholarship and the ease of her style. It may be taken as evidence of a new trend in the study of literature. It may be said to mark a turn away from the traditional history of literature with its encyclopedic information about a large number of writers, both great and obscure, in favor of an approach which stresses the development of literary ideas in the work of a small group of writers of influence. For lucidity and plausibility, Mrs. Colum's book is without doubt one of the best of such works that have appeared in the United States.

Mrs. Colum, like Arnold, believes that the great creative mind is also the great critical mind. But she is somewhat more schematic than he in finding that great writers come in pairs who represent the chief contrasts of attitude in the various literary periods. As far as the modern era is concerned, her basic pair are the German writers of the eighteenth century, Lessing and Herder. Their nearest heirs were Wordsworth and Coleridge in England, and their more remote ones Sainte-Beuve and Taine in France. In fiction the French pair are Balzac and Flaubert. After them came the decline into the realism of

Zola, from which the Symbolists revolted. She regards the Russian novelists, especially Tolstoi, as an important influence in encouraging realism in fiction; and she defines as "the outside literatures in English" the American poetry of Emerson, Poe, and Whitman, and the American fiction of Hawthorne and Melville.

Clearly, then, Mrs. Colum, though she gives a fair statement of the attitudes of all the authors she discusses, evaluates them according to her philosophy of literature. She believes that the healthier and more valid side of the modern era is that represented in English by the tradition of Coleridge. She regards the whole realistic tradition as the weak degenerative side of the era, debasing literature, not into the immoral (for she is beyond Puritanism), but into the sociological (as far as the method goes) and into the commonplace (as far as intrinsic values are concerned).

It is at this point that readers, according to their own sense of values, will differ in their judgment of the book. For not only does Mrs. Colum reject the historical method which would take literature as an important reflection of the objective movement of society; she appears to believe that it flourishes only in a certain political atmosphere, even though her definition is explicitly negative. An authoritarian society prohibits the spontaneous independent handling of ideas which the great writer requires. Yet at the same time she associates the crippling of the judgment that follows the realist's absorption in facts with the degeneration of the imagination promoted by the leveling tendency of our American democracy. "Literature," she says, "like every other art, is produced for a minority of the human race; the masses in any country have no great interest in it because they have neither the time nor the vitality, apart altogether from the question as to what proportion of the people have the intellectual or emotional equipment for understanding any art" (p. 209). The enjoyment of art is thus as much the privilege of the few as is its production. Art, she says, may be equally incomprehensible to a Babbitt and a Lenin and a Rockefeller, just as it may be produced by a vagabond like Villon or a sinner like Baudelaire or a saint like St. John of the Cross or a half-crazy man like Blake.

One may grant that the full appreciation of art is possible only to a minority. But this admission does not necessarily lead to her conclusion. The art of the majority may be a less profound version of the better art, but it is surely not one of contradictory values. The contradiction Mrs. Colum finds between popular and good art happens to be fairly true in our own period. But she is not for this reason justified in stretching her observation into a universal statement. The art of Shakespeare neither contained values of an entirely different order from those commonly held in his period nor was it entirely incomprehensible to the pit. The older historical approach to literature, the scholarship of our graduate schools, may be pedantic and philosophically naive. But it rarely exhibits the superciliousness set up by Mrs. Colum's substitution of a philosophy of the elect.

EDWIN BERRY BURGUM

New York University

Scandinavian Plays of the Twentieth Century. With Introductions by ALRIK GUSTAFSON. First Series (Swedish); 176 pp. Second Series (Danish and Norwegian); 298 pp. Princeton: Princeton University Press for the American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1944. \$2.00; \$3.00.

Except for a few plays of August Strindberg little is known in England and America about the Swedish drama. In the past, to be sure, Swedish classic literature has remained essentially lyric, but there have been notable exceptions both in fiction and in the drama, and in the 1930's the Swedish theater, it seems, experienced a "renaissance which has reinstated the drama as a ranking literary genre" of Sweden.

This is well attested by the four plays chosen for the first volume of modern Scandinavian dramas. Prefaced by an excellent introductory essay, the selections include (1) the one-act "midwinter story" *The Gallows Man*, by Runar Schildt, a Finn writing in Swedish; (2) the brief, ironic, and tragic *Mr. Sleman Is Coming*, by the late novelist and dramatist Hjalmar Bergman; (3) the five-act *The Man Without a Soul*, by the ultra-modern Pär Lagerkvist; and, finally, (4) the tragico-comedy *Perhaps a Poet*, by Ragnar Josephson.

The choice of plays appears to be a happy one, at least so far as adequate representation of gloomy and serious examples is concerned. Here the reader will find an abundance of originality, unconventionality, psychology, symbolism, and many forms of modernistic realism and theater trappings. Extensive stage directions and unfinished sentences abound, as do moods, reflections, and revelations of special problems of life. All plays are provocative of thought; to an American they would seem, first of all, to be reading dramas that conjure up the mysteries and irrationalities of human existence. Yet these modern ethical problem plays, even though often vague, and ending in a question mark, are said to have been staged in Sweden with great success, which speaks well for both actors and audience.

The Gallows Man, a gripping masterpiece of tragedy and wisdom, in which the power of evil collapses before the absolute unselfishness of the heroine, is localized in Finland, 1840. The colonel-hero has won power unethically through the talisman, the Gallows Man, for which he must, eventually, pay with his life; but his soul is saved through Maria's offer of sacrifice. Schildt, as Professor Gustafson points out, has learned much from Ibsen and Strindberg. *Mr. Sleman Is Coming* is a bitter, effective attack on the inhumanity of life, and specifically on that of separating two lovers who by physical nature seem to belong to each other. The heroine is compelled by two old family spinsters to give up her hunter sweetheart and marry a rich, lecherous, old man. Here the general atmosphere and technique are uncommonly powerful. *The Man Without a Soul*, by the leading dramatist of modern Sweden, is not easy to understand, but seems to indicate that there may, after all, be some meaning, some purpose in human life, and that the author himself has "faith in a mystic

humanism of brotherly love and sacrifice." Josephson's *Perhaps a Poet* is the skillful description of the soul of a man who "in his own imagination creates a life which he is not permitted otherwise to live." To rid himself of a drab existence, and create a personality for himself, he assumes the guilt of a murder committed by another, and the results are both tragic and amusing.

The Second Series, comprising a larger volume than the first, contains two Danish and two Norwegian plays—*Nils Ebbesen*, by the country clergyman Kaj Munk; *Anna Sophie Hedvig*, by Kjeld Abell; *The Defeat*, by Nordahl Grieg; and *The Sounding Shell*, by Helge Krog. The volume illustrates even better than the first the power, variety, and turbulence of the modern Scandinavian theater. Gustafson calls that of Denmark and Norway a *fighting* theater, and this is a good characterization. In the plays before us we find the most daring expression of the spirit of the times, a frank and forceful exposition of the chaos and brutality of contemporary life, and, technically, a revolutionary disregard for all dramatic formulas. A restless searching, with Marxist leanings, for the interpretation of human, historical events, are presented in shifting kaleidoscopic tableaux and realistic group effects in Grieg's *The Defeat*, which deals with the Paris Commune, 1871; and a more timely and obvious apotheosis of patriotic heroism can hardly be imagined than the Dane Kaj Munk's *Nils Ebbesen*, an attack on Denmark's Nazi oppressor. Later, in January, 1944, the author was murdered by Nazi assassins. In the interim the Norwegian Grieg had lost his life in a bombing expedition over Germany. No wonder that Danish and Norwegian plays of today emphasize *action*, immediate violent action, by a mob, if necessary, rather than—as in earlier, more conservative dramas—passivity or the gradual development of individual character.

Munk's play, naturally, advocates violence as the cure for violence against one's country. *Anna Sophie Hedvig*, another Danish play, preaches a similar sermon in the broader, more personal field of everyday life. How about the ordinary individual who through less tangible but perfidious action and hatred has become a scourge to his community and fellow men? Would not the world be better off without him? And, aside from technical provisions of the law, is there any *real* guilt involved in removing such a poisoner of society? At all events, the heroine schoolteacher (Miss Hedvig) courageously and unhesitatingly removes a woman colleague whose brutality, mental or otherwise, has become intolerable, and later, as a sacrificial symbol of human protest, gladly faces the firing squad for her act. The play is an effective tableau of unusual moral significance.

Helge Krog's *The Sounding Shell* (*Konkylien*), in the opinion of the reviewer the least important item in the volume, is a psychological play dealing with a woman's relation to three different men. It is a good illustration of the playwright's dialogue art; it has no real plot or intrigue, but is interesting.

The two series of *Scandinavian Plays* are worthy of close reading, and study, for they provide not only good entertainment but contribute

the most, and probably the best, of what is known in English about the modern Scandinavian theater and dramatic productions. The six translators — Henry Alexander, Roy Campbell, Helge Kökeritz, Hanna Astrup Larsen (long acknowledged as an exceptional translator and editor), Holger Lundbergh, and J. B. C. Watkins — have done their work unusually well. It has not been an easy task.

ADOLPH B. BENSON

Yale University

The Concept of Love in the Works of Hermann Stehr. By KARL SIEGFRIED WEIMAR. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania dissertation, 1945. Pp. 121.

Dr. Weimar's aim was to analyze Hermann Stehr's concept of love from a broad point of view, and to include all realms of man's emotional experience with the world about him. In order to treat his theme more systematically, he divided man's many relationships into two categories: those to persons, including family, friendship, woman, and mankind; and those to things, including the material world, possessions, the state or nation, art, and nature. In all of them he sees Stehr's "trend towards a more impersonal, selfless love, from a negative stand to a positive, progressing to depersonalization and anonymity." He finds that both of these categories of relationships point upwards and have their point of fusion in the relation to God. The author states that his study is limited largely to Stehr's writings, since sufficient biographical data are not yet available to establish a balance between Stehr's life and his works. Nevertheless, there are more biographical details than one might expect in view of this modest disclaimer.

A valuable bibliography includes Stehr's numerous writings, many works on Stehr, works on the concept of love, and more general writings. The author is well versed in this critical literature; numerous parallels indicate a wide acquaintance with German letters. Dr. Weimar has organized his material well, frequent summaries of chapter divisions are brief and to the point; his style is direct, clear, and free from mannerisms.

In writing a study of this kind on so prolific a narrator, a critic is obviously forced to be selective; in the main, Dr. Weimar's choice of passages has been judicious. They are not a mere collection of important statements that reflect Stehr's views; their significance is brought out by analytical and critical judgments. Moreover, an attempt, though somewhat limited, has been made to point out change and progression in Stehr's thinking. The author is at his best in dealing with Stehr's portrayal of unhappy, tragic family life in an atmosphere of hostility where distrust and lack of understanding prevail, and in his discussion of love between man and woman. It is surprising to note how large a place is given by Stehr to presenting the attitude of parents and children toward each other.

The relations between man and woman in Stehr's works are seen to fall into three general types: sensual love, rooted in elemental passion; intellectual or spiritual love in which a rational or religious element predominates; and Eros, a fusion of the two. The first two of these are incomplete and bring unhappiness; only the third, rare as it is, can be complete and harmonious. In the great majority of unsuccessful marriages portrayed by Stehr the man is at fault; he is less ready for, and less capable of, perfect love than woman. According to Stehr, perfect love "comes naturally and of necessity from a heart that is already in harmony with its true self and with God; one that is ready and willing to sacrifice even its own existence." But such love is by no means entirely spiritual, for of necessity it derives much from the physical element.

Stehr's attitude toward material possessions is well characterized in his words: "Nimm wenig von der Welt und gib dem Leben viel."

In characterizing Stehr's relation to the state, the author might perhaps have cited Nathanael Maechler's dictum: "Das Volk ist der Staat" (*Nathanael Maechler*, p. 297). Moreover, attention may be called to several passages in *Die Nachkommen* (pp. 222 ff., 228 ff., 232) which condemn Emperor William II as a vain, boastful, superficial egotist, surrounded by servile sycophants who lack the courage to assert themselves against his dangerous megalomania. In *Das Hermann Stehr-Buch* (p. 50) there is further reference to the evils that menace Germany and undermine love of country: "Man erzieht die Jünglinge zum Servilismus, darum sind auch nirgends die Bedientenseelen so zahlreich wie in Preußen." And it is interesting to note Faber's words in *Der Heiligenhof* (p. 441):

Denn Zustände der Seele müssen die Ordnung des Staates herbeiführen, nicht umgekehrt. Wer Freiheit nur durch Ordnung der Einrichtungen erzielen will, und denkt, die innere Freiheit des einzelnen sei damit geschaffen, der handelt wie einer, der ein Haus baut für einen Menschen, der noch nicht geboren ist, der einen ungefangenen Fisch bratet und der das Siegesfest einer noch zu durchkämpfenden Schlacht feiert.

To Stehr's views on God and religion which are set forth in this monograph, one might well add his charitable observation as recorded by Hans Kaergel in *Das Hermann Stehr-Buch* (p. 153): "Immer sehe ich, wie auch in dem vertiertesten Menschen noch die Göttlichkeit verkümmert und verstoßen kauert."

No adverse criticism is implied in the additions suggested above or in the assertion that still others might be made to round out the presentation here and there. This is to some extent a matter of individual emphasis and preference. Dr. Weimar has written intelligently and with discrimination on an important subject whose difficulties are heightened by Stehr's profundity, his mystic bent, and the wide range of his writings.

JOHN C. BLANKENAGEL

Wesleyan University

The Problem of Individualism and the Crises in the Lives of Lessing and Hamann. By F. J. SCHMITZ. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Publications in Modern Philology, Vol. 27, No. 3, 1944. Pp. 125-48. Twenty-five cents.

This brief monograph attempts to compare Lessing and Hamann as representing a turning point in the development of eighteenth-century individualism from medieval authority. Such an attempt is not easy when one is dealing with a concept as elusive as that of individualism, for to generalize about this concept involves certain dangers of incompleteness and difficulties of definition. The attempt is further complicated when the concept is studied in two men with such diverse temperaments as Lessing, with his lucid, logical style, and Hamann, with his confused, symbolic style. Schmitz has reviewed clearly this well-known difference in temperament and has then reduced his analysis to a single problem.

This is "the position of the individual in the world" in its two-fold aspect: "the freedom of the individual from oppressive authority" and "the union of the self with a whole that is congruous to it." Schmitz contends that the problem presented itself in the form of a crisis to Lessing and Hamann, and that it was best treated by the former in his poetical fragment *Die Religion* (1751), and by the latter in his autobiographical *Gedanken über meinen Lebenslauf* (1758). Their treatment of the problem in these two writings resulted in the formation of parallel attitudes: an irreparable break with the philosophy of the Enlightenment, a return to the concrete individual by way of self-examination, and an acknowledgment of the irresistible power of such irrational forces in man as instinct and passion. Both men were deeply troubled by the soul-searching skepticism and religious dilemma which these attitudes raised in their thinking and which spurred them on to seek a key to the riddle of being and to the existence of God. Both men here refused to subscribe to rationalism as a guide to action and turned to the elements of human nature as more valid principles of human behavior. In this attitude individualism came prominently into the foreground, but the spontaneous outbursts of Hamann contrasted sharply with the measured restraint of Lessing when the two men came to grips with the problems of human nature in their subsequent writings.

This contrast was indeed sharp and definite, as even Schmitz admits when he concludes: "Lessing emerged from his crisis in spite of his irrational tendencies; Hamann's emotional instability threatened to engulf him beyond redemption." The parallel attitudes thus diverged after the crises of youth and became contrasts that set off these two authors distinctly and sharply in their influence on the coming generation of German writers. For Lessing it became a tireless quest for truth; for Hamann it took the form of refuge in a world of faith and communion with God. Schmitz, however, would see in their later careers "a trend common in its essence, but different

in its manifestations." Unfortunately, the scope of his paper does not allow him to give a sufficiently satisfying elaboration of this thesis. For Lessing he has given a more detailed treatment in his work *Lessings Stellung in der Entfaltung des Individualismus* (Berkeley, California, 1941). It is to be hoped that he will complete the comparison by a similar study for Hamann.

ANTHONY SCENNA

Amherst College

Pascal: Genius in the Light of Scripture. By EMILE CAILLIET. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1945. Pp. 363. \$3.75.

"Throughout the course of Pascal's life and work, there emerged a unity of design taking shape amid a diversity of subject matter." So begins the preface to Dr. Cailliet's most recent Pascalian study, *Pascal: Genius in the Light of Scripture*. In his scholarly biography of the great French philosopher, Dr. Cailliet has attempted to trace this "unity of design" that he finds overlying so many seemingly baffling contradictions.

As in his previous work, *The Clue to Pascal*, the writer has emphasized, unduly perhaps, the influence of the Bible in the shaping of Pascal's life and thought. In the chapter, "A Lamp unto My Feet," he says: "Alike in his life and in his work, the Bible came to hold such an important place for Pascal that, if we wish to establish the chronology of some undated writings of his on a moral or spiritual theme, the surest criterion would be to rely upon the number and character of Biblical quotations or allusions found therein. Whether he was summarizing his position during a controversy, or establishing the proper ground for some personal maxim, or giving counsel as a Christian layman, Pascal came to rely more and more upon the Bible."

Unquestionably, Dr. Cailliet has imbued his study with all the fervor of his conviction, which is obviously profound and sincere, and as he develops his thesis with assiduous care, the reader, though he himself may not share the writer's conviction, cannot but admire his scholarship and his earnestness.

CLOTILDE WILSON

University of Washington

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* Books received which treat non-literary aspects of Spanish-America will be found listed, and in many cases reviewed, in the *Revista Iberoamericana*.

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VOLUME VI — 1945

CONTENTS

Dorothy F. Atkinson. The Authorship of <i>The Mirror of Knight-hood</i> , Part Nine.....	175
———. One R. P.....	3
Kingsbury Badger. Mark Pattison and the Scholar in Victorian Literature	423
George L. Barnett. Two Unacknowledged Adaptations from Goldsmith	29
Allen R. Benham. Sir John Suckling, <i>A Sessions of the Poets</i> : Some Notes and Queries.....	21
Huntington Brown. The Gloss of <i>The Rime of the Ancient Mariner</i>	319
Kenneth Neill Cameron. Shelley's Use of Source Material in <i>Charles I</i>	197
Boyd G. Carter. Alphonse Daudet and Darwinism.....	93
Carl Colditz. "Über den Denunzianten".....	131
Philip B. Daghljan. Sheridan's Minority Waiters.....	421
Jeannette Fellheimer. Geoffrey Fenton's <i>Historie of Guicciardin</i> and Holinshed's <i>Chronicles</i> of 1587.....	285
Alfred Foulet. The Archetype of Joinville's <i>Vie de saint Louis</i>	77
G. Giovannini. Agnolo Segni and a Renaissance Definition of Poetry	167
Friedrich Gundolf. St. Helena als Irdisches Paradies.....	329
Tom Burns Haber. What Fools These Mortals Be! Housman's Poetry and the Lyrics of Shakespeare.....	449
Robert A. Hall, Jr. Ganelon and Roland.....	263
Edgar H. Hemminghaus. Mark Twain's German Provenience.....	459
Carolyn Washburn Houtchens and Lawrence Huston Houtchens. Contributions of Early American Journals to the Study of Charles Dickens.....	211
John D. Kern. An Unidentified Review, Possibly by Scott.....	327
Samuel Kliger. The Unity of <i>Gulliver's Travels</i>	401
J. C. Lapp. An Explorer-Poet: Jean Parmentier.....	83
C. Grant Loomis. Martin Opitz in Seventeenth-Century England	341
Donald A. McKenzie. Otfriidiana.....	345
Francis P. Magoun, Jr. The Domitian Bilingual of the <i>Old-English Annals</i> : Notes on the F-Text.....	371
Yakov Malkiel. The Etymology of Old Spanish <i>Apesgar</i> "To Catch, to Press, to Weigh".....	149

Percy Matenko. The Goethe, Schiller, and Byron Translations of the Saaling Album.....	53
Ernst G. Mathews. The Murdered Substitute Tale.....	187
Robert J. Menner. Three Fragmentary English Ballades in the Mellon Chansonnier	381
Mabel Morris. Jefferson and the Language of the American Indian	31
J. Horace Nunemaker. Emilia Pardo Bazán as a Dramatist.....	161
William R. Parker. Winstanley's <i>Lives</i> : An Appraisal.....	313
John J. Parry. A Bibliography of Critical Arthurian Literature for the Year 1944.....	219
J. M. Purcell. A Note on the Revision of <i>The Prelude</i>	51
Arno Schirokauer. Die Anfänge der Neuhochdeutschen Lexikographie.....	71
Edward D. Seeber. Goldsmith's American Tigers.....	417
Leo Spitzer. Nom de Dieu!.....	243
Marshall W. Stearns. Henryson and Chaucer.....	271
R. H. Super. When Landor Left Home.....	325
George W. Umphrey. Spanish Ballads in English: Part I, Historical Survey.....	479
Eugene M. Waith. A Tragicomedy of Humors: Fletcher's <i>The Loyal Subject</i>	299
Henry J. Webb. The Mathematical and Military Works of Thomas Digges	389
Herbert Weisinger. The Seventeenth-Century Reputation of the Elizabethans	13
John Edwin Wells. Wordsworth and Railways in 1844-1845.....	35
Edwin H. Zeydel. Ekkehard's Influence upon Hrotsvitha: A Study in Literary Integrity.....	333

REVIEWS

Henry Hitch Adams. English Domestic Or, Homiletic Tragedy, 1575 to 1642 [<i>E. Ayers Taylor</i>].....	102
Joseph Quincy Adams (editor). Oenone and Paris by T. H. [<i>Richard H. Perkinson</i>].....	101
Edward G. Ainsworth and Charles E. Noyes. Christopher Smart: A Biographical and Critical Study [<i>Roland B. Botting</i>].....	107
Don Cameron Allen (editor). The Owles Almanacke [<i>Brents Stirling</i>]	234
Edith Armstrong (editor). Ystoire de la Passion, B. N. MS. fr. 821 [<i>Robert A. Hall, Jr.</i>].....	125
Esther Willard Bates. Edwin Arlington Robinson and His Manuscripts [<i>Louise Dauner</i>].....	361
Joseph Warren Beach. A Romantic View of Poetry [<i>Harold E. Briggs</i>].....	360

Richard Beck (editor). Icelandic Poems and Stories [<i>Stefan Einarsson</i>]	116
Thomas Goddard Bergin and Max Harold Fisch (translators). The Autobiography of Giambattista Vico [<i>Harcourt Brown</i>]	351
Rae Blanchard (editor). Tracts and Pamphlets by Richard Steele [<i>Robert J. Allen</i>]	356
Caroline Brady. The Legends of Ermanaric [<i>Stanley Rypins</i>]	225
Richard Albert Edward Brooks (editor). Thomas Carlyle: Jour- ney to Germany, Autumn, 1858 [<i>Sophus Keith Winther</i>]	111
Arthur C. L. Brown. The Origin of the Grail Legend [<i>Tom Peete Cross</i>]	353
Emile Cailliet. The Clue to Pascal [<i>Robert E. Fitch</i>]	120
———. Pascal: Genius in the Light of Scripture [<i>Clotilde Wilson</i>]	510
Henry Seidel Canby. Walt Whitman: An American [<i>Gay Wilson Allen</i>]	237
Isabel Wakelin Urban Chase. Horace Walpole: Gardenist [<i>John W. Draper</i>]	109
August Closs (editor). Tristan und Isolde: A Poem by Gottfried von Strassburg [<i>Carl F. Bayerschmidt</i>]	114
Gustave Cohen. La Grande Clarté du Moyen-Âge [<i>E. K. Rand</i>]	119
Mary M. Colum. From These Roots: The Ideas That Have Made Modern Literature [<i>Edwin Berry Burgum</i>]	503
Saint-John de Crèvecoeur. Qu'est-ce Qu'un Américain? [<i>J. C. Chessex</i>]	121
Hugh G. Dick (editor). Albumazar: A Comedy [1615], by Thomas Tomkis [<i>Paul H. Kocher</i>]	355
Arthur H. R. Fairchild. Shakespeare and the Tragic Theme [<i>D. T. Starnes</i>]	496
Max Harold Fisch and Thomas Goddard Bergin (translators). The Autobiography of Giambattista Vico [<i>Harcourt Brown</i>]	351
Margaret Gilman. Baudelaire the Critic [<i>Warren Pendleton Car- rier</i>]	123
Alrik Gustafson (editor). Scandinavian Plays of the Twentieth Century [<i>Adolph B. Benson</i>]	505
Carl L. Johnson. Professor Longfellow of Harvard [<i>Carl J. Weber</i>]	500
Gwyn Jones (translator). The Vatnsdaler's Saga [<i>Lee M. Hol- lander</i>]	365
Alexander Kaun and Ernest J. Simmons (editors). Slavic Studies: Sixteen Essays in Honor of George Rapall Noyes [<i>O. Stepanek</i>]	118
Charles W. Kennedy. The Earliest English Poetry [<i>Margaret Schlauch</i>]	231
Paul Oskar Kristeller. The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino [<i>Mel- vin Rader</i>]	230

Mary McDonald Long. The English Strong Verb from Chaucer to Caxton [<i>Herbert Meritt</i>]	495
Michel Levadoux, s.s. Eulogy on George Washington [<i>Julian Park</i>]	125
Loys le Roy. De la vicissitude ou variété des choses en l'univers [<i>Hunter Kellenberger</i>]	228
George Wilbur Meyer. Wordsworth's Formative Years [<i>Leslie Nathan Broughton</i>]	110
Montesquieu. Extraits sur la loi, la liberté et le gouvernement anglais [<i>Hunter Kellenberger</i>]	228
Charles E. Noyes and Edward Ainsworth. Christopher Smart: A Biographical and Critical Study [<i>Roland B. Botting</i>]	107
Lawrence Marsden Price. The Vogue of Marmontel on the German Stage [<i>Fritz L. Cohn</i>]	350
Ernest Renan. Les Sciences de la nature et les sciences historiques (Lettre à Marcellin Berthelot) & L'Avenir de la science (Chapitres II et XVI) [<i>Hunter Kellenberger</i>]	228
Malcolm Mackenzie Ross. Milton's Royalism: A Study of the Conflict of Symbol and Idea in the Poems [<i>William R. Parker</i>]	106
Sainte-Beuve. Thomas Jefferson et Tocqueville [<i>J. C. Chessex</i>]	121
Aaron Schaffer. The Genres of Parnassian Poetry [<i>Margaret Gilman</i>]	124
F. J. Schmitz. The Problem of Individualism and the Crises in the Lives of Lessing and Hamann [<i>Anthony Scenna</i>]	509
Max Schoen (editor). The Enjoyment of the Arts [<i>Walter Isaacs</i>]	502
Archibald Bolling Shepperson. John Paradise and Lucy Ludwell of London and Williamsburg [<i>James L. Clifford</i>]	99
Ernest J. Simmons and Alexander Kaun (editors). Slavic Studies: Sixteen Essays in Honor of George Rapall Noyes [<i>O. Stepanek</i>]	118
H. T. Swedenberg, Jr. The Theory of the Epic in England, 1650-1800 [<i>Hoyt Trowbridge</i>]	498
H. Taine. Introduction à l'histoire de la littérature anglaise [<i>Hunter Kellenberger</i>]	228
Marion Tinling and Louis B. Wright (editors). Quebec to Carolina in 1785-1786 [<i>Robert E. Spiller</i>]	100
Tocqueville. De la Démocratie en Amérique [<i>J. C. Chessex</i>]	121
Humphry Trevelyan. Goethe and the Greeks [<i>William J. Mulloy</i>]	362
Howard P. Vincent (editor). Letters of Dora Wordsworth [<i>Willard H. Bonner</i>]	358
André von Gronicka. Henry von Heiseler: A Russo-German Writer [<i>Walter A. Reichart</i>]	226

Edward Wagenknecht. Cavalcade of the English Novel from Elizabeth to George VI [<i>Bruce McCullough</i>]	113
Karl R. Wallace. Francis Bacon on Communication & Rhetoric or: The Art of Applying Reason to Imagination for the Better Moving of the Will [<i>Richard F. Jones</i>]	235
Ronald N. Walpole. Charlemagne and Roland [<i>Laura Hibbard Loomis</i>]	349
A. C. Ward. A Literary Journey through Wartime Britain [<i>Ed- ward G. Cox</i>]	112
Karl Siegfried Weimar. The Concept of Love in the Works of Hermann Stehr [<i>John C. Blankenagel</i>]	507
Stewart C. Wilcox (editor). Hazlitt in the Workshop: The Man- uscript of "The Fight" [<i>Ralph M. Wardle</i>]	237
Don M. Wolfe (editor). Leveller Manifestoes of the Puritan Revolution [<i>J. Russell Roberts</i>]	105
Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling (editors). Quebec to Caro- lina in 1785-1786 [<i>Robert E. Spiller</i>]	100
Comment	368





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